Daily Report

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Reportage on Visit of Hungary's Jeszenszky

Jeszenszky Meets Kapllani

AU0209175691 Tirana ATA in English 0803 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 1 (ATA)—On August 31 and September 1 talks were conducted in the seat of Foreign Ministry between the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Albania led by Muhamet Kapllani, foreign minister, and the delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary led by Geza Jeszenszky, foreign minister.

The Albanian foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, valued that the visits of the foreign ministers of the two countries proved that bilateral relations are going ahead. The political relations and dialogue have been intensified and given the green light to concrete relations of cooperation in the economic, trade, cultural and other relations.

The Albanian minister acquainted the Hungarian colleague with the difficulties the Albanian economy is passing and the all-sided efforts of the Government of the National Stability and the parliament to create the legal cadre for the reforms and to gradually head towards economic stability and reforms. In this regard, he evaluated the support of the friendly countries such as Italy, Turkey, Germany, France, the U.S.A., etc., and the close and fruitful cooperation being established with the European Community.

The Hungarian foreign minister, Geza Jeszenszky, pointed out that the numerous events occurring in Europe and especially in our region made necessary this meeting between the two foreign ministers a short time after the visit of Muhamet Kapllani to Hungary. He said that profound feelings of friendship exist between our two peoples, whose roots go deep in the ancient times to the struggles against common occupiers and in the time of the efforts of the Albanian people for independence. Jeszenszky said that Hungary, despite all its problems is determined to help Albania. It will bring here 100 thousand tons of wheat on the basis of a bilateral agreement and 100 thousand other tons accorded by the European Community. He said that Hungary is ready to promote the economic cooperation with Albania, to start the creation of joint ventures in agriculture, industry and transport and to this end he invited in Budapest an Albanian economic delegation.

The Hungarian foreign minister said that Albania should take its place in the European family and we defend unhesitatingly this right of Albania. He hailed the democratic transformations in Albania pointing out that the entire world joyfully follows this democratic development of Albania. He appreciated also efforts of Albania to create the legal basis for the defence of foreign investments in Albania stressing that political stability is necessary in order to overcome the difficulties and to develop economic cooperation.

Both ministers voiced their worry over the grave Yugoslav crisis considering unacceptable the policy of violence and the fait accompli Serbia is following.

They underlined that Hungary and Albania are interested as neighbouring countries that this crisis be solved as soon as possible through peaceful way and negotiations, taking into consideration the interests of all the peoples living there.

Both ministers said that the 3 million Albanian population and half a million Hungarian population living in Yugoslavia should take part without exception and on equal footing with all the peoples of Yugoslavia in the solution of the Yugoslav crisis, establishment of peace in the country and its future.

They valued the efforts and proposals of the European Community for the solution of the Yugoslav crisis and voiced the readiness of the two countries to make their contribution to this direction. They hailed also the failure of coup d'etat in the Soviet Union considering it a victory of the democratic forces not only in the Soviet Union but also in other East European countries.

Both parties were of the opinion that meetings of the foreign ministers be institutionalized and political consultations and those in other fields placed on a regular basis as a necessity of bilateral cooperation in the European framework and the CSCE and because of the dramatic developments in our region.

In the second round of talks, on September 1, they discussed also on the economic cooperation. Present was also the minister of foreign economic relations, Ylli Cabiri.

Present were also the ambassador of Albania in Budapest, Jani Polena, and the ambassador of Hungary in Tirana, Ferenc Poka.

Meets Party Leaders

AU0209175791 Tirana ATA in English 0919 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 2 (ATA)—On September 1, the minister of foreign affairs of Hungary, Geza Jeszenszky, was received in separate meetings in the Socialist Party [SP], Democratic Party [DP], and the Republican Party [RP].

At the SP's seat, the chairman of the Steering Committee of this party, Fatos Nano, spoke of the relations and friendship between the Albanian people and the Hungarian one. We, he said, value Hungary as a country which avoids conflicts and in this context we have followed your experience in the economic, political and social fields. In the Eastern Europe, especially in the Balkans, the solution of the historic conflicts in the spirit of the CSCE processes is indispensable. He laid emphasis on the Albanians' rights in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia.

The Hungarian foreign minister, Geza Jeszenszky, was for the strengthening of the relations between our two countries in various fields. He likewise got interested in the political forces and their future in Albania and the SP.

The chairman of the DP, Dr. Sali Berisha, after voicing his satisfaction over meeting the Hungarian foreign minister, said that the Hungarian democratic revolution has left deep impressions amongst us especially in the determination to make changes.

Geza Jeszenszky said that now Albania pursues an open policy thus making possible to Hungary to help the democratic developments in Albania.

At the RP seat, the chairman of this party, Sabri Godo, spoke among other things of the traditional friendship between our two peoples and made an expose of the situation in Albania and the hitherto activity of the RP.

The Hungarian foreign minister underlined that amongst the 35 European countries Albania has deserved its own place and wished her attain the same level in the living standard and social progress.

Attending these meetings was also the ambassador of Hungary in Tirana, Ferenc Poka.

Alia Receives Jeszenszky

AU0209175891 Tirana ATA in English 1210 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 2 (ATA)—The president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia, received the minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Hungary, Geza Jeszenszky, and the persons accompanying him at the Palace of Brigades on September 2, before noon.

President Ramiz Alia briefed them on the political and economic changes occurring in Albania on the road of the democratisation of the country's life, the difficulties and efforts to overcome them successfully and within the shortest possible period of time. To this end, he said, we are working willingly and resolutely. We are optimist that through greater efforts, a closer cooperation with the other countries, we will attain the desirable results.

Speaking of the visit to Albania, the minister of foreign affairs of Hungary, Geza Jeszenszky called it fruitful and pointed out that the impressions from this visit surpass those I already had about your country. I am confident, he said, that Europe will take into consideration the democratic transformations that have taken place in Albania and will assist it more.

President Ramiz Alia spoke of the traditional friendly relations deeply rooted in history, between Albania and Hungary. On the basis of this tradition and common interests, he said, the conditions exist for the further promotion of relations between our two countries and peoples in all fields. Your visit, the president pointed out, is an important event and I am convinced that it will contribute to this respect.

After speaking of the fruitful negotiations with the Albanian colleagues, the Hungarian foreign minister expressed the readiness to undertake concrete steps in materializing the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, enriching them further on.

During the meeting opinions were exchanged on the grave Yugoslav crisis. We, President Ramiz Alia said, have neither interfered, nor interfere in Yugoslavia's home affairs. But, we have not been and are not for solving the problems they are encountering through war and bloodshed. We have been and are against any solution at the expense of the Albanians, who make up Yugoslavia's third population as for their number. The Albanians, the president continued, as any other people constituting the current Yugoslavia, should be asked to have their say, to be called in every negotiations' table, be that national or international, when the future of this country is discussed: This is democratic, this is just, this responds to the CSCE demands on the observation of the national and human rights of the peoples.

I share the same opinion with you on the assessment of the situation in Yugoslavia, the Hungarian foreign minister said. It would be a defeat for the whole Europe, if a partial solution is attained there, without the participation in these talks of all the peoples and nationalities living in Yugoslavia.

The Hungarian foreign minister conveyed to the Albanian president the greetings of the president Arpad Goncz and of the Premier Jozsef Antall and voiced the predisposition of the Hungarian state to forge ahead the relations between the two countries.

On his part President Ramiz Alia asked Geza Jeszenszki to convey his greetings to the Hungarian president and premier.

Bufi Receives Jeszenszky

AU0209175991 Tirana ATA in English 1220 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 2 (ATA)—Premier Ylli Bufi received the foreign minister of the Republic of Hungary, Geza Jeszenszky in the Prime Minister's Office on September 2. The Albanian premier spoke of the relations of friendship existing between the Albanian people and the Hungarian one. Albania sees in Hungary, he said, a friendly country, bound not only by history, but also by the current common goals and interests. He briefed the Hungarian guest on the economic, political and social situation of the country in this period of transition, laying an emphasis on the endeavours of the National Stability Government to realize its programme of reforming the economy. Further on Ylli Bufi spoke of the importance the support of the European Community, of the Group of the 24 and other separate states has

for the implementation of this reform. He appreciated the aid granted by the Hungarian Government for Albania and emphasized that Hungary's experience in transforming the economy, which might be realised through the exchange of economic delegations, experts etc., is of interest for our country in this period, further consolidating the cooperation in this important field.

Hungary's foreign minister, Geza Jeszenszky, aired on his part the satisfaction that the Albanian people is afforded the possibility to build up such a system where they themselves will decide on the future and assessed the transformations that have taken place on the road of democratisation. As Europe's most ancient nation, and owing to the natural riches the country has, he said, the Albanian people has inexhaustible possibilities for a forward leap.

Assessing the major difficulties Albania is encountering in this period of transition, he voiced the readiness of the Hungarian Government to grant besides 100,000 tons of wheat other aids too. He shared the same opinion with Premier Ylli Bufi on the strengthening of economic cooperation between the two countries.

In course of the talk opinions were exchanged also on the situation in Yugoslavia, underscoring that the crisis cannot be solved without the self-determination of the Albanian people and the Hungarian one living there, on the recent developments in the Soviet Union, etc.

Jeszenszky Comments on SFRY

AU0209204191 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Arben Malaj interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky in Tirana on 2 September—recorded]

[Text] [Malaj] Mr. Jeszenszky, do you consider your first visit to Albania to have been successful?

[Jeszenszky recording in English fades into superimposed Albanian translation] My visit has been fruitful in all senses. Of course, my visit had a dual purpose, to discuss not only international issues such as the Yugoslav question, but bilateral relations too. I am perfectly sure that after these talks our bilateral relations will rise to the level of strong economic cooperation, which will be to the benefit of both our nations.

In my talks with high-level Albanian officials, including the president, we expressed similar stands on the future of the Albanian and Hungarian peoples living in Yugoslavia. We have closely followed all the steps recently taken by the international community, and the Serbian authorities' ceasefire decision is also promising. The future of the talks will decide much more clearly how to proceed toward what everybody wants—not only the Albanians who live in Albania and Kosovo and the Hungarians who live in Hungary and Vojvodina, but all Europe. They first of all want peace and a solution of the problems of Yugoslavia, which is situated between our two countries, Albania and Hungary.

Travel, Cooperation Accords Signed

LD0209213691 Budapest MTI in English 1035 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Tirana, September 2 (MTI)—"Immediate and firm steps are necessary to encourage Albanian-Hungarian economic cooperation," Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said in Tirana on Monday, the last day of his visit to Albania.

In the morning, Jeszenszky signed two agreements with Albanian Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani, on partially abolishing the compulsory visa system, and on the development of cultural and scientific cooperation.

The first agreement eases the travel of diplomats and persons on official visits, the second promotes the mutual exchange of students, and the development of relations between the academies of science. Following the signing ceremony, the Hungarian foreign minister was received by Albanian President Ramiz Alia and Prime Minister Ylli Bufi.

Late on Sunday evening, Jeszenszky met Albanian journalists in the Hungarian Embassy, and briefed them on the results of his talks. He said he believes relationships between various experts will shortly be established in order to create direct Hungarian-Albanian inter-company relations. Hungary has agreed to accept a special role in the development of Albanian agriculture, in animal breeding and food industry, and in developing tourism.

Regarding his talks with representatives of the Albanian political parties, Jeszenszky said it is particularly important to safeguard stability in Albania until the elections next year. The Albanian partners said they are aiming to further progress along the road of democratization, to create its legal structures, and to be free themselves from the remnants of the old system. They said the existence of the provisional coalition government is necessary so that the confidence of the world, including Hungary's, is maintained. They said a priority goal is to transform the political system, to in order to respect the democratic freedoms and human rights.

It was noted at the Hungarian-Albanian economic talks that laws regulating economic cooperation with foreign partners, that serve to protect investments, and that ease capital involvement, should be enacted.

In the course of talks with the political parties, special emphasis was placed on the valuable experiences Hungary had gained in democratization. The Albanian side said it would like to be fully familiarized with these, and to utilize them. Jeszenszky said the Hungarian Government is ready to provide assistance.

Foreign Ministry Statement on SFRY Crisis

AU3008163691 Sofia BTA in English 1606 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 30 (BTA)—BTA received the following declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria is deeply concerned by the escalation of the crisis in Yugoslavia. A qualitatively new situation has emerged. With their actions the parties to the conflict have blocked the internal factor for solving the problems. Serbia's overt intentions to change the borders and to redistribute territories in pursuance of the idea "all Serbs in one state" are extremely dangerous. The growing tension and the scope of the military actions in Croatia impeded the realization of EC and the CSCE initiatives.

From the very beginning of the crisis in Yugoslavia the Republic of Bulgaria adopted the approach of non-interference in internal affairs and of refraining from any actions which may be interpreted as an attempt to take advantage of the problems of its neighbour. At the same time it expressed resolute support for the efforts of the EC and the CSCE, bearing in mind that it is these structures that have the necessary levers and potentials for exerting influence on the parties to the conflict.

As a neighbour country, the Republic of Bulgaria has the right to react to the changes in the situation, especially when there is a threat of military clashes in Serbia and Macedonia with which it has common borders, of the drawing of the Bulgarian population into these clashes, of a wave of emigrants and an overall destabilization on the Bulgarian-Yugoslav border.

Bulgaria recognizes the new realities, namely the obvious inability of the federal government structures to perform their functions, the lack of political will on the part of the sides to the conflict to seek compromise solutions and of readiness to conduct a peaceful dialogue and hence the growing threat of an abrupt aggravation of the military conflict between Serbia and Croatia, of the involvement of other republics in the military actions, of a civil war of unpredictable consequences for Yugoslavia and for peace and stability in the Balkans. Therefore the Ministry of Foreign Affairs intends to adopt a still more active stand on the events in Yugoslavia, to insist on a more decisive influence of the foreign factor in the solution of the crisis with a priority commitment of the EC and the CSCE and to assist the efforts of Yugoslavia's neighbour countries and of regional organizations directed towards the peaceful settlement of the problem of the future of Yugoslavia and its republics, observing the right to the free self-determination of the peoples, including the right to independent statehood without changing the borders. This stand is in complete harmony with the principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a new Europe.

Valkov on SFRY Stand

LD3008213291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1219 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 30 (TANJUG)—Bulgarian Foreign Minister Viktor Valkov has said that a unanimous assessment by foreign ministers of Bulgaria, Italy and Greece, who met on the Aegean island of Santorini, is that Yugoslavia will not further exist in its present form.

In an interview to the Sofia radio, Valkov said that the southern Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia would certainly request independence after its referendum on September 8.

He added that Bulgaria and Greece, countries bordering Macedonia, also stated they did not want to talk about a united Macedonian nation, or a Macedonian minority.

According to Valkov, "there is no such minority in Bulgaria," although the official Macedonian authorities insist that they have hundreds of thousands of compatriots in those two countries.

The three foreign ministers also said that their countries had no territorial claims on Yugoslavia, Valkov added.

He said the Santorini meeting was an "open and useful exchange of views, without a fixed agenda, between friends."

The three foreign ministers—Valkov, Gianni de Michelis and Antonis Samaras—held a two-day meeting which also focused on the events in the Soviet Union and the possibilities for Bulgaria's sooner inclusion into European structures, Valkov told Radio Sofia.

Popov Explains Relations With Soviet Embassy

AU0209183891 Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 2 (BTA)—Today Prime Minister Dimitur Popov answered in parliament to the interpellation of the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] (United) about the government's contacts with Soviet officials in the days of the coup. The parliamentary SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] faction demanded that the Bulgarian Communist Party which acclaimed the coup be outlawed. "On August 19 about noon I received Mr. Kareyev from the Soviet Embassy. He told me about the events in the USSR. I expressed the concern of the Bulgarian Government and my own concern over the events," Prime Minister Popov explained. At a special press conference last week, however, the Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria Mr. Viktor Sharapov said that Mr. Kareyev's meeting with Bulgaria's prime minister had only been intended to specify the list of the Bulgarian economic delegation which had been scheduled to visit the USSR August 22-23.

According to Mr. Sharapov, the events in the USSR were only mentioned at his meeting with President Zhelyu Zhelev the same day.

As early as August 19 Bulgaria's prime minister told Mr. Igor Kareyev that the Bulgarian Government would not send a delegation to negotiate with individuals who have unlawfully proclaimed themselves leaders of the Soviet Union.

On August 20 Mr. Popov received a telephone call from Mr. Sharapov. He confirmed again that the Bulgarian delegation would not leave for the USSR.

I have had no talks with Mr. Sharapov upon a visit of his to the Council of Ministers before August 22, said Mr. Popov and added that Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev had told him he had not met with the Soviet ambassador in the days of the coup, either. Mr. Popov also said that he had entrusted Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov to inform the Soviet Embassy that the Bulgarian delegation would not be leaving for Moscow.

"I know nothing about other talks between the Bulgarian Government or myself as prime minister and representatives of the Soviet Union. I am answerable for my own actions and for the actions of the government," the prime minister said. He mentioned nothing about Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov's visit to the Soviet Embassy August 21, which was confirmed by the Soviet ambassador at the press conference last week.

The parliamentary SDS proposed that the prime minister's answer be debated and reminded that Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev recently said in a television statement that in the days of the coup the Soviet ambassador had more meetings than in the last two months altogether. The majority, however, voted down this proposal.

A special parliamentary commission of inquiry will be appointed to study the conduct of Bulgarian politicians and state officials during the coup.

At the request of the SDS a bill for the banning of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] will be worked out.

Zhelev on Moscow Coup, Domestic Reforms

AU3108194591 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 30 Aug 91 p 10

[Interview with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev by Wolfgang Koydl; place and date not given: "We Will Demand Much From Germany"]

[Text] [Koydl] Mr. President, Bulgaria was one of the first countries that recognized the independence of the Baltic republics. Bulgaria is also considered one of the countries that is said to have the most knowledge about the Soviet Union and Russia. From this position, how do you assess the further developments in the Soviet Union and in Russia?

[Zhelev] I think that matters have developed very well so far. Those who lagged behind us in their development for such a long time will catch up with us and will probably overtake us in some respects. I think that the things that happened in the Soviet Union are of enormous importance for Europe and the world. The dissolution of the CPSU will probably be one of the biggest events of the 20th century. In addition, this is a guarantee for the fact that the process of democratization in the country will be continued. The unsuccessful coup attempt sealed the end of perestroyka and, at the same time, started a quick and dynamic process that will lead to the dissolution of the structures that have existed until now. We here in Eastern Europe, who know what a totalitarian system means, supported Yeltsin's countercoup very quickly and energetically.

[Koydl] However, in Bulgaria there is still a communist party, even though it now calls itself socialist. Would you rule out that in Bulgaria there are forces like the ones in Moscow that might try something?

[Zhelev] In Bulgaria, a great number of changes have taken place, both in the legal area and, in particular, in political structures. All these reforms have separated this party from the state for a long time and have destroyed the unity between party and state that characterized the totalitarian state. For over a year, we have pursued the depolitization of the Army, the police, the public prosecutor's office, and the courts. For more than two years, we have driven the party organization from the enterprises, the institutions, and the authorities. Not to speak of the fact that there is a lasting multiparty system. In addition, we have independent radio and television stations; independent trade unions; a very strong opposition press; a democratically elected legislature with an opposition, which is also very strong; and, finally, a president put up by the opposition. All this makes such a development practically impossible in our country. Everyone in Bulgaria knows that these processes are irreversible.

[Koydl] At the climax of the Moscow crisis, U.S. President Bush called CSFR President Havel, Polish President Walesa, and Hungarian Prime Minister Antall. Your telephone did not ring. Does that hurt you?

[Zhelev] No (he laughs). Jokingly put, he probably did not know who to call. But, seriously, we were the first to condemn the attempted putsch and did so in a very categorical way. Only about 10 hours later, Bush, Kohl, Major, and Mitterrand issued statements. I was even surprised that the reaction was so weak in the beginning, when everything indicated a military coup. Yeltsin congratulated me on our clear attitude and so did our citizens, who followed all reactions to the events in Moscow with great attention during this time.

[Koydl] The bad economic situation in Bulgaria harbors potential dangers. What concepts are there to alleviate the negative side-effects of the transition toward a market economy?

[Zhelev] The concepts are the same as in the other former socialist countries, inasmuch as the conditions were similar. Generally, the issue is an accelerated transition to a market economy. This transition ensures the following: the return of agricultural land to the former owners as well as the privatization of state-owned property, which has to be divided into large and small privatization. Unfortunately, we started the small privatization—the sale of shops, small transportation companies, gasoline stations, and so forth—later so that this reform coincides with the structural problems. For this, the legislature has already passed the necessary laws. As regards big privatization, the law on privatization has not yet been passed, and I doubt that this legislature will manage to do so. I do not know whether it would not be better if the next legislature (after the election on 13 October—the editors) were to pass this law. After all, this law will be the economic constitution of the country.

[Koydl] Economic questions will also be the focus of your talks in the FRG. What expectations do you have in this connection concerning your visit to the FRG? What can the FRG do to help Bulgaria in economic terms?

[Zhelev] I think we can expect much of Germany, and we do expect it. So far, we have not obtruded upon Germany because of the problems that exist in eastern Germany. However, we certainly intend to demand much from Germany, which Germany can give us. At first, we intend to develop economic relations very intensively on a bilateral basis. In this field, we can look back on a long tradition during this century. We expect, for instance, that payment for a large part of our foreign debt will be deferred because many of our creditor banks are German banks. We also expect that Germany will make investments in Bulgaria and found joint ventures. We cannot rely on only the minimal sums that we get from the IMF or the World Bank. We also expect investments from the other developed Western countries. We also expect scientific-technological support from the German side, an experience that two generations have not been able to achieve in Bulgaria. In the political area, we expect Germany's support within the European structure. This applies to Bulgaria's acceptance into the Council of Europe as well as association with the EC. In addition, we expect German support in fulfilling our desire for broader cooperation with NATO, including in the military field.

[Koydl] The Balkans have again been turned into a hotbed of crisis. Yugoslavia, your neighbor, is facing imminent dissolution and a bloody civil war. Do you see any possibility at all to come to a peaceful solution via mediation?

[Zhelev] One must be a pathological optimist to believe in a change in Yugoslavia. This is obviously a gradual process, which may take a year, until the individual republics have turned into states. However, as long as the issues connected with this have not been solved, the guns will not be silent. A difficult issue is the existence of Serbian minorities, for instance the 600,000 Serbs in Croatia. Others live in Macedonia, and still others in Vojvodina. These are aspects that delay the solution of this problem. To a certain extent, one could make a comparison between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. However, there is the difference that, in Yugoslavia, there is no central state, in contrast with the USSR, which would have enough weight to influence the other republics. Serbia, which is trying to play this role, does not have enough weight, in economic, political, and cultural terms, to exert this attraction. Therefore, Serbia is forced to use the ultimate means—weapons.

[Koydl] Would you recognize Croatia and Slovenia?

[Zhelev] We prefer not to be the first ones to take this step. As neighbors, we would immediately be suspected of pursuing our own interests with this step. However, we have recognized the right to self-determination, including the right to found an independent state, by Croatia as well as by Slovenia and Macedonia. Of course, this is not the same as a general recognition. On the other hand, the difference between one thing and the other is not too big.

[Koydl] On 8 September, the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia will hold a referendum on independence. In Bulgaria, there are forces that lay claim to Macedonia, and some Macedonians are also striving for unification with Bulgaria. Is there not the danger that Bulgaria will be involved more deeply in the Yugoslav crisis than it would like?

[Zhelev] We ourselves do not intend to get involved in such a conflict. And we have already stated very clearly that we do not intend to take advantage of the difficulties in Yugoslavia. However, there is the danger that nationalist Bulgarian groups will be provoked. Still, we do not intend to respond to such provocations with a force of arms. Our position includes three basic standpoints—in particular, concerning Macedonia. First, after this referendum, we would recognize Macedonia because this corresponds to the principles of our foreign policy—namely, the recognition of the right to self-determination. Second, we are not willing to recognize Macedonia as a nation because this nation is an invention by the Komintern (Communist International—the editor) with specific political goals. Third, we do not want to interfere in Macedonia's internal affairs, in the right to self-determination of this country's citizens. They themselves should decide what they think is right. Thus, we recognize Macedonia as a state but not a Macedonian nation. We are willing to expand relations with Macedonia on the political, economic, and cultural level. In this connection, we consider opening our borders more. Of course, we want such a development in coexistence with the other Balkan countries so that things become as they are in Western Europe. However, it seems to me that these hopes cannot be realized very soon.

[Koydl] Mr. President, thank you for this interview.

Reportage on President Zhelev's Visit to Germany

Departs 2 Sep

AU0209093691 Sofia BTA in English 0901 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 2 (BTA)—This morning the president Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev left for Germany. He will pay there an official four-day visit at the invitation of the federal president Dr. Richard von Weizsaecker.

"We are leaving with great hopes and we believe they will come true," Dr. Zhelev told the press at Sofia Airport.

The official Bulgarian delegation includes Mr. Viktor Vulkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs, Prof. Georgi Fotev, minister of science and higher education, Prof. Todor Vulchev, governor of the National Bank of Bulgaria, and Prof. Nikolay Genchev, rector of the St. Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia.

Meets Von Weizsaecker

AU0309073291 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Report by Special BTA correspondent Panayot Denev in Berlin: "President Zhelev Visits Germany"]

[Text] Berlin, September 2—Today Bulgaria's President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev was assured by Germany's President Richard von Weizsaecker that Bulgaria will receive the aid of united Europe, so that it can proceed with the democratic reforms and the transition to market economy. During the one-hour meeting immediately after his arrival, Dr. Zhelev had the opportunity to familiarize his host with the expansion of democratic processes in Bulgaria.

The two presidents' spokesmen said that Dr. Zhelev presented the undisguised picture of Bulgaria's present economic state.

Entering the second stage of the reform aimed at a change of the system Bulgaria relies on Germany's support, President Zhelev pointed out. Germany can help by investments and by sharing its rich experience, in banking for example, he said.

President Weizsaecker answered that they were ready to help within the united efforts of the EC. Otherwise Germany might be accused of giving priority to one country of Eastern Europe or another, which would be quite undesirable.

The two presidents discussed the situation in the USSR after the unsuccessful coup attempt and the situation in Yugoslavia. President Zhelev pointed out that today Yugoslavia is the touchstone to show if the CSCE will be able to use its mechanisms to prevent conflicts. In his opinion, after Saddam Husayn's venture in Kuwait and after the failure of the attempted coup in Moscow there is proof that the world is entering a new historic age.

President Zhelev and his wife arrived on a four-day visit here at the invitation of President Richard von Weizsaecker of Germany. Dr. Zhelev is accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Viktor Vulkov, the Minister of Science and Higher education Prof. Georgi Fotev, the Governor of the National Bank of Bulgaria Prof. Todor Vulchev, the Rector of the University of Sofia Prof. Nikolay Genchev and other officials.

At the dinner in the Bellevue President Zhelev and President Richard von Weizsaecker made toast speeches.

The German president greeted Bulgaria's first democratically elected head of state to visit Germany. "As leader of the Union of Democratic Forces you made a considerable contribution to the changes in your country. For years on end you yourself have suffered from the lack of freedom in your scientific research work. For you the scientific truth was more important than political opportunism and adjustment. Thus you, Dr. Zhelev, have become the true representative of new Bulgaria," he said.

The German president also pointed out that Bulgaria's development paves the way for a future cooperation with Germany. Germany will recognize this fact by signing a treaty for partnership and cooperation between the two states. There are many proposals for joint projects which will deepen the relations, for example in higher education and jurisdiction.

The visit of Bulgaria's president and his delegation to some of the new Eastern provinces will let them make sure that there is a potential for cooperation to be utilized. According to Germany's president, however, Bulgarians ought to understand that the burden of the past cannot be thrown off overnight.

President Weizsaecker said that Germany would gladly support Bulgaria in her efforts to build an economic and social system which would bring security and well-being to its citizens. The daring and detailed programme for economic reforms is a good basis for this purpose, he said.

He also pointed out that Dr. Zhelev was the first head of state from the new democracies of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe to visit united Germany. This fact points out that the unnatural division of Europe to an Eastern and a Western part has already been overcome.

In his toast speech Dr. Zhelev pointed out that his talks with President Weizsaecker are the first to follow events of historic importance for the two countries: The transition from totalitarianism to democracy in Bulgaria and the uniting of Germany, events that cannot be regarded as isolated.

He noted that Bulgaria's transition from totalitarianism to democracy is characterized by its peaceful character. Political maturity prevailed in Bulgaria and due to it a

reasonable political compromise was reached. The first democratically elected parliament in Bulgaria's modern history performed its major task: For about two months now Bulgaria has a new Constitution. It may have some weak points and foibles because of the short term for its drafting and the proportion of political forces in parliament but it is still a reliable basis for the course of the democratic process, the president said. He added that by scheduling parliamentary and local elections for October 13 Bulgaria is entering a new stage of political development. The elections are of extreme importance for Bulgaria because they will provide the continuity of the started process and its irreversibility and will lead to the essential stage of the removal of the political and economic system.

"Germany's interest to the course of reforms in Bulgaria and mainly to the legal framework and economic prerequisites for the establishment of free market economy makes me hope that the German business circles will undertake concrete initiatives, aimed at the expansion and deepening of the economic cooperation between the two countries," said Dr. Zhelev. He pointed out that Bulgaria is effecting a total change of foreign political priorities. Now it can become the stabilizing factor in the Balkans.

According to him, Europe needs the Balkans to become a stable, quiet and prospering part of the old continent. "This is the reason why we pursue the institutionalization of cooperation between the Balkan states and make a number of compromises in order to improve our relations with Turkey," he said.

Bulgaria firmly supports the right of each nation in Yugoslavia to self-determination, including right to create their own independent states. The important point is to achieve the changes without violence, through political dialogue and compromise only.

Dr. Zhelev pointed out that the new conditions in Europe and the processes in Bulgaria allow broader and more adequate cooperation between Bulgaria and Germany. "The treaty for friendship and cooperation which I hope will be signed by the end of this year lays new foundations for our relations and will doubtlessly contribute to the further expansion of economic and cultural cooperation," he said.

He expressed gratitude for the assistance Germany rendered to Bulgaria in the hardest days for our country.

Later President Zhelev signed Berlin's golden book in the city council.

This evening Dr. Zhelev was greeted by Dr. Herbert Knoblich, chairman of the Landtag of Brandenburg. An official reception in honour of the Bulgarian guest was given in the Sans Souci.

Interviewed on Economic Ties

LD0109175791 Berlin ADN in German 1717 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev sees good prerequisites for reviewing traditional economic relations between firms of the Balkan state and the five new laender. In a SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG (Saxony newspaper) interview, he said, referring to this, that he has high expectations, particularly regarding the free state of Saxony. Until 1989, about one-third of the total product exchange between Bulgaria and eastern Germany alone was destined for the three GDR areas that are now Saxony. Zhelev said that he saw good prospects, among others, in the areas of electrical engineering/electronics, telecommunications, and refrigeration technology, as well as in agricultural engineering and polygraphic-machinery construction. Bulgaria's democratization process is on a stable course and is irreversible. The danger of a military coup, in contrast to the USSR, is minimal. However, the slow process of privatization presents problems. Therefore, he also wants to deal with experiences made in the privatization process in eastern Germany during his visit to Germany, which begins on 2 September. The decline in production in Bulgaria is taking on dangerous proportions, the president said. As a result, great hopes are put on continued support by Germany. This must include a joint solution to the foreign debt problem.

Activities of Secret Services Described

AU0109183791 Sofia BTA in English 1734 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 1 (BTA)—I am positive that my phone is being tapped, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, the leader of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], said on the radio today. Mr. Stefan Savov, the leader of the Democratic Party (in the Union of Democratic Forces, SDS), who took part in the same programme, also said that at the SDS they were sure that their telephones were being tapped.

This means that in Bulgaria there are services tapping telephone conversations which are not affiliated to any party, but who are they then, Mr. Savov asked.

Shortly after the establishment of the SDS its leaders raised the question of the tapping of telephones. The then minister of the interior, Mr. Atanas Semerdzhiev (now vice president), declared that the telephones in the building of the SDS were not being tapped.

Yesterday the "24 CHASA" daily and the "POGLED" weekly reported that tapping devices were discovered in the offices of the chief of the President's Office, Mr. Ivaylo Trifonov, and of Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev. According to "24 CHASA" on August 30 the Trade Union of Workers in Communications with the Podkrepa Labour Confederation requested the starting of a preliminary inquest against the leadership of the Communications and Informatics Committee. Citing a

source, close to the government circles, "24 CHASA" asserts that the leadership of the committee fulfilled orders and that soon it will become clear who gave these orders. "A severe blow will be dealt and on a high level at that," the source told "24 CHASA."

According to an anonymous government official cited in "POGLED," "different political and not quite political forces, were now engaged in tapping activities. But the information was stored in different banks, the government official said.

"24 CHASA" and "POGLED" also reported of connections between Deputy Prime Minister Dimitur Ludzhev and the deputy chief of the National Intelligence Service Radoslav Raykov. According to these papers it could be presumed that while working in Turkey some years ago Mr. Raykov maintained "unusual contacts with the Turkish special services." According to "POGLED" and "24 CHASA" Radoslav Raykov was appointed deputy chief of the Bulgarian Intelligence at the explicit insistence of Deputy Prime Minister Ludzhev.

In a radio programme today former Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov attacked Deputy Prime Minister Ludzhev recalling the reports in the press of a meeting organized by Mr. Ludzhev between the Turkish ambassador here and the leader of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, Mr. Ahmed Dogan.

Ruse BSP Members Demand Lilov's Resignation

AU0109183391 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] A group of members of the Club for a Radical Change in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] in Ruse has sent a letter to the BSP Supreme Council, in which it demanded the withdrawal of Aleksandur Lilov and his closest circle from the leading posts. It points out that, with its position on the situation in the country and abroad—most of all in the USSR—the BSP Presidium maintains a stand that differs from that of the party membership.

Newspaper Reports 'Intraparty Warfare' in BSP

AU3108173591 Sofia BTA in English 1641 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 31 (BTA)—The most serious intraparty warfare in the past few decades has flared up within the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] (former BCP) [Bulgarian Communist Party], "DEMOKRATSIYA" writes today. And there is indirect confirmation of this in the daily of the Socialists. "DUMA" frontpages the resolution of the BSP leadership which points out that it views the presence of different stands on the current party policy as something normal but these differences should not be viewed as an attempt to disunite the party. Moreover, "DUMA" does not publish last night's declaration of the BSP leadership which disapproves of the suppression of the CPSU.

In an extensive article published yesterday, BSP leader Aleksandur Lilov called for unity in the forthcoming elections. Following the hesitant stand of the BSP leadership during the Moscow coup, Mr. Andrey Lukanov resigned from his post of deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the party and as a member of its Presidium. One of the parliamentary groups of the Socialists proclaimed itself independent and not a member of the BSP faction.

Today "DEMOKRATSIYA" quotes one of the Socialists-reformers, Associate Professor Dragomir Draganov, as saying that "only the fear of a witch hunt is keeping the Socialist Party together. [quotation marks as received] The agreement for pre-election cooperation between the moderates in the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] and the Alternative Socialist Organization (Independent) (that split from the BSP) was received with relief and satisfaction by the radically-minded members of the BSP.

According to "DEMOKRATSIYA" a group in the BSP wants to preserve the leadership of Aleksandur Lilov, who has been attacked for his stand on the coup, and thus preserve the unity of the party. Another group believes that if the BSP remains monolithic—neo-Stalinists and reformers together—this would lead to its defeat in the elections.

"SVOBODEN NAROD," the daily of the Social Democrats, reports that reformers in the BSP will demand the resignation of Mr. Lilov and of almost the entire leadership. The same daily expresses the opinion that part of the BSP leadership is trying to repeat what happened on November 10, 1989. Then Todor Zhivkov was removed from power but the party preserved itself and later renamed itself into socialist.

Polls Suggest SDS To Win Coming Election

AU0109152691 Sofia BTA in English 1456 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 1 (BTA)—The democratic forces will win the forthcoming elections. I am 99 percent positive of this, sociologist and political scientist Tsvetozar Tomov said. This time the Bulgarian people will realize that they are faced with a historic choice, he said. Last year the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] (former Bulgarian Communist Party) won the majority of the seats in parliament, as Mr. Tomov had predicted.

Political life is turning back to normal. There are acute contradictions in the BSP. The conservative forces in the BSP will force the reformers to leave the party. This is the opinion of the political scientist expressed in the Panorama political TV show yesterday.

If the elections were held in September, the Union of Democratic Forces (radical wing) would have won almost 44 percent of the votes, according to a private sociological survey. It was financed by the American Triple M Communication Company and published in

"DEMOKRATSIYA." According to the respondents the most probable coalition after the elections is between the radical wing of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) (BZNS-E). At the end of the week BZNS-E confirmed its wish to cooperate with the democratic forces and refused cooperation with the BSP.

According to the survey, if the elections were held in September the BSP would have won some 17 percent of the votes and the BSP-Radicals 8 percent. 12 percent of the votes would have gone to the BZNS-E, 7.8—to the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, 3.2 percent—to the Social Democrats and 2.4 percent—to the SDS-Liberals (moderate opposition).

BZNS Rules Out Cooperation With Socialists

AU3108184891 Sofia BTA in English 1818 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 31 (BTA)—Any cooperation with the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] before or after the elections is out of question for the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) [BZNS].

At a session of its Supreme Union Council the BZNS adopted its election platform—"People's Rule, Reform, Bread." Mr. Svetoslav Shivarov, chairman of the Executive Council, told journalists that the platform contained elements of a programme for the government of the country after the elections. It makes specific proposals in the economic field, outlines the concrete prospects of the agrarian policy and lays special stress of environment protection.

At the press conference held after today's session journalists were told that the election platform of the BZNS (United) has points of intersection with the platforms of the other democratic forces in Bulgaria and that possible coalitions will be sought on this basis. The leadership of the BZNS (United) was authorized today to conduct negotiations for cooperation, for entering into alliances and coalitions guided by the adopted platform. The municipal leaderships have been delegated the right to conclude agreements for political cooperation with democratic political forces after coordination with the standing committee. In the forthcoming elections the BZNS (United) can run on a single ticket only with the Nikola Petkov BZNS.

An extensive report was read at today's session on the political guilt of the leaderships of the BZNS in the 1945-1989 period. The conviction was expressed that the clarifying of the political responsibility of the former leaderships of the "formal" BZNS will contribute to the consolidation of the agrarian movement in this country and to reaching an agreement with the Nikola Petkov BZNS. The Nikola Petkovists accuse the BZNS of having accepted the leading role of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] in the totalitarian past and of actually having destroyed the Agrarian Party.

Nikola Petkov 'Independent'

AU0109183591 Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 1 (BTA)—The Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party (Nikola Petkov BZNS) will run on its own ticket in the elections and not in the same ticket as the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), Mr. Milan Drenchev, the leader of the opposition Agrarian Party told journalists today. The Nikola Petkov BZNS will leave the SDS.

The decision of the Nikola Petkov BZNS is final and was voted today by roll-call by the members of the Executive Council of the party.

Mr. Milan Drenchev described the decision for independent participation in the elections as a reaction to the decisions of most of the local coordinating council of the SDS in the country which placed the candidates of the Nikola Petkov Agrarian Party in disadvantageous positions in the tickets.

According to members of the Executive Council of the Nikola Petkov BZNS the opposition Agrarian Party will not accept the proposal of the BZNS-United for unity of action and cooperation in the nomination of candidates in the elections.

Nevertheless the Nikola Petkov BZNS will remain an honest partner of the SDS and the entire democratic opposition in its struggle against the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] in the elections, Mr. Drenchev said.

Havel, Republic Legislators Discuss Federation

LD3108184291 Prague CTK in English 1438 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Bratislava Aug 31 (CTK)—Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak political representatives met today in Banska Bystrica, central Slovakia, to confer about the adoption of a treaty between the Czech and Slovak republics (as a basis for a common federation) and about other issues, spokesman for the Czechoslovak president Michael Zantovsky told CTK.

Zantovsky said President Vaclav Havel had talks with the chairmen of the Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak parliaments, premiers of the three governments, several ministers and representatives of political parties and movements during the celebrations of the 47th anniversary of the Slovak national uprising. After this meeting Havel and parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek held separate talks, Zantovsky said.

Before leaving for Prague, Havel told CTK that he discussed with Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak representatives the political situation in the country in connection with international developments, and stressed that all participants showed interest in the preservation of a common state. Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa told CTK he believes that discussions on a treaty between the Czech and Slovak republics will have to be connected with talks on the proposal to declare sovereignty of nations.

Klaus: Cooperation Between ODS, OH Finished

LD0209084491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1930 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] A meeting of citizens with Vaclav Klaus and other deputies for the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] took place this evening in Pelhrimov. Jan Kliment reports:

[Kliment] Right at the start of the meeting, which was connected with the sale of books and an autograph session, Vaclav Klaus, chairman of the ODS and federal minister of finance, said to those present that his party had once and for all parted company with the Civic Movement [OH], that is, the second half of the former Civic Forum, which was, as he said, a suitable umbrella for those who wished to negate the former regime. However, he no longer sees any chance for further mutual cooperation between these partners. Although, at the same time, he welcomes the possibility of dialogue with the people who came to Masaryk Square with a number of questions. There was not even time for all replies to be given. Vaclav Klaus described dialogue as the only chance to achieve mutual harmony. This he says is the idea with which he travels from town to town attempting to clarify as many economic and political questions as possible. Among the principles being explained is also the effort for preserving a joint state of Czechs and Slovaks. This statement was appreciated through the significant applause of those present. Vaclav Klaus described spreading the influence of his party wherever possible as the most immediate goal of the ODS, and he called on those present to give support in the next elections.

[Announcer] Following the latest talks with representatives of the ODS headed by Chairman Vaclav Klaus, the Conservative Party - Free Block decided to end the merger process with this party. As Jiri Kotas, chairman of the Free Block stated, experience over the past two months has shown that the ODS is not concerned with a sincere effort to jointly form the right-wing of the political spectrum, with a clear attempt to dominate and engulf other political subjects.

OH Holds Talks With Slovak Political Parties

LD3008222491 Prague CTK in English 2015 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Bratislava August 30 (CTK)—Representatives of the Civic Movement (OH) today started a series of official talks with representatives of Slovak parliamentary political parties and movements on the future constitutional setup of Czechoslovakia.

Representatives of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) are not taking part in the talks. Its leadership will hold a two-day session in Bardejov, east Slovakia, starting today.

An OH delegation, led by its chairman, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, held talks today with a delegation of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), led by its chairman, Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky.

Dienstbier told journalists after the talks that the OH strives for the preservation of a functioning federation.

Chairman of the Democratic Party (DS) Jan Holcik said that political contacts between Slovak and Czech representatives were neglected and called for their intensification. He said he believes that it is possible to create a common state based on new principles.

OH Chairman Jiri Dienstbier told a press conference held after the talks with representatives of Slovak political parties and movements that the OH insisted on the creation of a functioning federation and resolutely rejected a confederation as an anachronistic form of a constitutional setup.

Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky said that not all subjects of the Slovak political scene still maintain willingness to take further steps in the spirit of agreements concluded in Krmeriz, south Moravia, in June (discussions on a federative setup of the state).

Rychetsky did not rule out the adoption of a so-called full (Slovak) constitution by the Slovak Supreme legislative body (Slovak National Council) which would not respect the existing constitutional system and the federal state. This would mean in fact the declaration of Slovakia's sovereignty, he said.

Movement Council Condemns HSD-SMS Rivalry

AU0209094491 Prague OBCANSKY DENIK in Czech 29 Aug 91 p 2

[CTK report: "Stop to Subversive Elements"]

[Text] Brno— The Land Council of the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia [HSD-SMS] met at an extraordinary session to discuss the actions of a group of HSD-SMS functionaries who have given themselves the name Executive Committee and passed a vote of no-confidence in the current HSD-SMS leadership.

The Land Council recommended to the HSD-SMS Land Assembly as the supreme body of the movement to take vigorous action against these subversive elements [rozvratnici] and to adopt measures, in the interest of the movement's unity, that would clearly prevent such conduct not only now but also in the future.

Movement Leader Comments

AU0209093791 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 27 Aug 91 p 2

[CTK report in the "Parties and Movements" column]

[Text] In an interview for CTK yesterday, Ivan Tuzinsky, deputy chairman of the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia [HSD-SMS], commented on the split in the HSD-SMS. He said that the HSD-SMS Executive Committee that was established in Brno on 25 August is made up of a group of self-appointees who act in contravention of the statutes and all resolutions of HSD-SMS supreme bodies. He added that internal disputes should be settled exclusively on the movement's platform. He also said that the HSD-SMS has been managing its financial affairs in harmony with Czechoslovak legal stipulations.

Communist Party Faces Possible 'Disintegration'

AU3008191691 Prague CTK in English 1600 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 28 (CTK)— Pavol Kanis, the chairman of the Federal Council of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (KSCS), told a press conference today he will propose the deletion of the word "communist" from the party's name.

Kanis said the conservative policies of the leadership of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (KSCM) might cause the disintegration of the KSCM and SDL (Democratic Left Party in Slovakia) Federation.

Communists in Czechoslovakia are organized in the KSCM (operating in the Czech Republic, membership about 430,000) and the SDL (operating in Slovakia, membership 60,000), which together make up the "Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSCS) - KSCM and SDL Federation," with a Federal Council as its supreme body.

The KSCM leadership has been criticized for taking a wait-and-see attitude during last week's attempted coup in the Soviet Union. Representatives of the "Democratic Left" faction in the KSCM, which seeks the party's transformation into a democratic party, told the press conference that some KSCM functionaries toasted the coup with vodka.

Michal Kraus, a Democratic Left leader, said the faction demands the immediate convening of a KSCM congress where either reformers will win the upper hand or the party will split. Failure to convene the congress is likely to result in the creation of a new party, Kraus said.

Kraus told CTK that an estimated 30,000 to 40,000 KSCM members support the Democratic Left faction, or 10-14 percent of the total membership.

Kraus yesterday called on KSCM Chairman Jiri Svoboda to step down.

[The Democratic Left briefing is also the subject of correspondents' reports in Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak. A 200-word "tma"-signed report in Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 29 August on page 2 quotes Pavol Kanis as saying that "the SDL leadership feels that its link with the Czech party, which has not undergone sufficient transformation, is damaging to its own chances." A 500-word Alena Borovickova, CTK report in Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 29 August on page 2 includes the following passage: "Pavol Kanis said that the Club of Communist Deputies in the Federal Assembly, which has until now been the largest club in the Federal Assembly, will probably split into a KSCM Club and an SDL Club in the near future. He endorsed the convening of an extraordinary KSCM congress, which should show which platform in the KSCM gains greater support."]

Langos on Airport Incident, Radioactive Substance

LD0109191991 Prague CTK in English 1735 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sep 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jan Langos said today that according to military and police sources 50 kilograms of a radioactive chemical substance from the Soviet Union should have been hidden at Ostrava-Mosnov Airport. Commenting in a regular Sunday television programme on the security units action in Mosnov Airport last week, Langos said the substance was described by the sources as military strategical and very dangerous. It could have caused a much greater danger than the occupation of the airport by the Red Berets unit, Langos said. According to the sources the chemical should have been hidden in one of the airport's concrete bunkers, he said. He claimed that drugs and weapons are smuggled through Ostrava-Mosnov Airport and that a person or persons from its military guard is or are involved.

The Federal Ministry of the Interior said immediately after the action at Mosnov (August 30) that the reason for it was a tip-off that drugs and weapons are smuggled through the airport. Langos informed the public about the radioactive substance and concrete suspicion concerning one or more persons from the military guard for the first time today. Langos said the affair convinced him that no information should be hidden from the public.

New Slovak Laws on Taxation, Education Reported

AU0209092391 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 28 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Stefan Marusak report: "We Are Going To Have A Modern Taxation System"]

[Text] In yesterday's session, the Slovak Government passed the taxation system bill, value added tax bill, excise duty bill, and income tax bill. The excise tax bill gave rise to an extensive debate.

It was not clear whether the law is to be federal or whether there will be republic laws instead. Eventually, the government passed the law as a federal one, with a note that in the instance of the gasoline and lubricants tax, the producer would be the taxpayer. The republic and federal bills differed only in technicalities. The government started from the assumption that the basic concepts should be uniform within the framework of the federation. This includes: the taxpayer, taxable amount, tax rate, etc., with a concession to the republics allowing them to adjust the figures within plus-minus 10 percent. It would allow the republics to support a certain production sphere or, as the case may be, consumption.

The Slovak Government also discussed a proposal by a group of the Slovak National Council to amend the Education Law to provide a legislative basis for the issue of religious instruction in elementary and high schools. The government has not recommended, however, that the proposal be included in the agenda of a Slovak National Council session before a special Slovak National Council commission examines several variations of this sensitive issue.

As we were told at the regular press briefing by Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky: "This has nothing to do with a political stance on the teaching of religion, but rather with the correlations and consequences of the text submitted by the group of deputies at the Slovak National Council session and also at the Federal Assembly. The question is whether religious instruction is to be provided at school. If this version were adopted, it would mean a certain state control over the church because most of the schools are state schools. The Slovak Republic Ministry of Education has instructed elementary schools to make religious instruction within the regular schedule possible, i.e. during the morning hours of instruction; of course, within their technical possibilities. Nevertheless, this school year religion will remain an elective subject only."

At another news conference, just one hour later, Gabor Zaszlos, Slovak Republic deputy prime minister; Vladimir Pavle, the new Slovak Republic minister of transport and communications; and Minister of Finance Jozef Danco spoke to journalists.

According to Pavle, the new ministry will be in charge of road, highway, public, air, and water transportation. Railways will not be in the ministry's jurisdiction.

J. Danco outlined the new system of taxation. As of 1 January 1993, the value added tax will replace the sales tax—that should simplify calculations. The excise tax will replace the former monopoly tax, and five groups of goods will be involved: carbohydrate fuel (and lubricants), beer, wine, spirits, tobacco, and tobacco products. The bill also adjusts the income tax of the population and income tax of enterprises and companies.

In addition, the Slovak Republic Government passed with changes a Slovak National Council bill on road and real estate taxes. The government also approved with changes the CSFR Government bill on the issue and use of investment coupons. In the evening hours, the government discussed the screening bill.

The Slovak Republic Government passed a bill on raising teachers' salaries that will take effect on 1 September 1991. This measure will provide for an average increase of teachers' monthly salaries by 270 korunas.

Majority Favor Published Lists of StB Agents

LD0209225691 Prague CTK in English 1248 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sept 2 (CTK)—Over half (58 per cent) of those questioned in a recent survey in Czechoslovakia favoured the publication of lists of all former StB (Secret Police) agents and collaborators, while about 33 per cent were against and the rest had no opinion.

In the poll, conducted at the beginning of July by the Prague-based Institute for Public Opinion Research in connection with the law on vetting due to be presented to the Czechoslovak parliament in September, 54 per cent of respondents wanted the process of vetting public figures for possible past collaboration with the StB to continue. The StB, disbanded in February 1990, is estimated to have had 100,000-140,000 agents and collaborators.

Roughly 66 per cent of the 1,133 respondents thought that vetting was a means of political in-fighting, diverting attention from major social problems. 20 per cent were convinced that vetting was a fully reliable way of exposing STB agents, 64 per cent were doubtful and 16 per didn't know.

Most respondents agreed that former StB agents should leave important posts, such as federal and national parliament deputies, police directors, chief editors and journalists of the state-run media and state-run bank directors.

There was no great difference between Czech and Slovak attitudes to the significance of the vetting process, but Slovaks on the whole were less insistent on the exclusion of former STB agents from important positions.

The poll further revealed that the Czechoslovak public regards the vetting issue as an important but not a primary problem.

Dienstbier: Recognition of Croatia 'Premature'

LD3008224791 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2039 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] In the last few days, Austrian representatives have said that in the current situation they would be prepared, under certain conditions, to recognize the independence of two Yugoslav Republics—Slovenia and Croatia. Yesterday, we asked [Minister of Foreign Affairs] Jiri Dienstbier if there is a possibility that Czechoslovakia would recognize the independence of Croatia and Slovenia, as it did with the Baltic Republics:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] I discussed this issue with [Austrian Foreign] Minister Mock at the Hexagonale meeting in Dubrovnik. In my view, this is still premature. Minister Mock probably thinks that the recognition of Croatia could solve the situation. I think that this could be the solution only in the case of a victory in Serbia by the forces intending to change the border with Croatia by force. Then it would be necessary for the international community to show solidarity with Croatia. Nevertheless, the most necessary thing is to create an atmosphere in which the Serbs and Croats will not attack each other in Croatia, an atmosphere in which it would be impossible for any side to support its own ethnic members in these clashes. Without such a solution, no recognition of Croatia can help. That is why I think that, for the time being, it is necessary to push for an agreement within the framework of Yugoslavia, in whatever form they want, for instance. About the independence of the Republics, however, I do not think that this kind of gesture would be of any help.

Czech Industry's Debts Reach 78 Billion Korunas

AU3008115691 Prague CTK in Engish 0705 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 29 (CTK)— The economic and political daily HOSPODARSKE NOVINY notes the ever-increasing problem of insolvency among industrial enterprises in Czechoslovakia, accelerated above all by the enterprises' failure to repay their debts to one another. According to Karel Zavadil, assistant director of the Czech Ministry of Industry's Economic Policy Division, while the total value of unpaid debts at the beginning of 1991 amounted to nearly 32,000 million crowns (1,067 million USD), [currencies as received] by the end of June it had reached almost 78,000 million crowns (2,600 million USD).

[The Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech article, cited above, is published on 29 August on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "I Owe, You Owe, We Owe." It specifies that the sum of 78 billion korunas of unpaid debts concerns "industrial enterprises of the Czech Republic."]

Diplomatic Relations With Baltic States Restored

LD0209204591 Budapest MTI in English 1822 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI)—After slumbering for over five decades, diplomatic relations between Hungary and the Baltic states were restored at 19:00 CET [Central European Time] today.

The protocols restoring the diplomatic ties, frozen after the Baltic states' annexation to the Soviet Union, were signed by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszensky of Hungary, Algirdas Saudargas of Lithuania, Janis Jurkans of Latvia and Lennart Meri of Estonia.

The signing ceremony was attended by Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, presently staying in Hungary on an official visit. Also representing the Hungarian side were Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament, and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. Before the signing ceremony, President Landsbergis met Hungarian President Arpad Goncz, Jozsef Antall and Gyorgy Szabad.

Antall Speech to National Assembly

LD0209175791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1405 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Speech by Prime Minster Jozsef Antall to the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] [Speaker Gyorgy Szabad] Esteemed National Assembly: We now come to the debate on the draft National Assembly resolution on relations between the Hungarian Republic, the Estonian Republic, the Latvian Republic and the Lithuanian Republic. The draft resolution was received by my fellow deputies under No. 2953. A draft amendment to the draft resolution has been submitted by the Foreign Affairs Committee under No. 2957. I hand over to Mr. Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, the speaker for the agenda point.

[Antall] Esteemed Mr. Speaker, esteemed House, esteemed Mr. President Landsbergis, Mr. Foreign Ministers, our dear guests. I think that, in the history of the Hungarian National Assembly, this day is an especially festive occasion, and it signals an important historic turning point that extends far beyond the borders of Hungary.

It is an event of outstanding significance from the viewpoint of our entire region, when the Hungarian Republic restores diplomatic relations not only with the governments and the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania but is restoring its sovereign statehood with these countries [as heard].

I think that the particular nature of this day, and of today's session, sets me just this task in the submission of the issue: To point out that in the past period, since the time when, two years ago, prior to the elections, we were able to meet President Landsbergis, it still belonged to the world of hopes and partly of dreams that the restoration of the three Baltic countries' sovereignty and the establishment of diplomatic relations could succeed in this form.

First of all, we have to express our recognition for the steadfastness, for the courage, that you showed in your struggle—which you displayed to the world even in the gravest period. [applause]

I think that here and now what must be declared is that the Hungarian people, the Hungarian National Assembly, did their job. The government did what a responsible government can do at the head of a country, and it did everything so that this day could come about. In the same way, the opposition did its job, it did what the opposition can do. And every Hungarian legislative party did its job as a legislative party, even when and even where, in a given case, this could perhaps not be done by the government.

When the moment and the day came, when in the Soviet Union there evolved the crisis that, in the coup's wake, provided from one moment to the next the delayed possibility that now everything must be done—for this is the moment where we must not delay—at that time, thanks to the ties that even then had been prepared along diplomatic channels and all other channels, beginning 19 August, the government continually took the necessary steps in the interests of the immediate and rapid measures being taken. It did this in the relations it conducted with the leading big powers; it did this in coordination with its neighbors and its allies; and it did this when it sent off one of our diplomats to the three Baltic republics and convey the Hungarian Republic's standpoint.

And we did the same thing beginning the night of 20 August, when we drew the attention of the world's leading powers to the fact that the coup taking place in the Soviet Union could not so much squeeze into the background the issue of the Baltics but would place it into the forefront, and likewise, could not overshadow the problem of Yugoslavia.

It was a token of this that I was able to announce on 26 August, here in the National Assembly, the steps that had been taken—which also by then had the nature of a report on the goodwill mission of our envoy—that we had invited the foreign ministers of the three republics and that we had the extraordinary honor in that Mr. Landsbergis personally wished to come for this day, when this afternoon, we sign the documents on the restoration of diplomatic relations. [applause]

Making the submission, I think, does not require special justification. We take as our starting point, on the one hand, the nations' right to self-determination, and on the other hand, the fact that the sovereign Hungarian state had never recognized the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact.

As a result of this, we are restoring diplomatic relations with the three republics, which had been forcefully severed. Between the world wars—and I should not wish

now to enter into various political interpretations, political disputes, and explanations—but I should like to emphasize that, as independent states, these three states and the Hungarian state had not only diplomatic relations but good relations. Similarly, I do not wish to look back into the distant past and indicate the kind of historical links that existed from the Baltic region to the region extending to the Carpathian basin.

On the basis of all this, I think that on behalf of, not only the government, but on behalf of the entire National Assembly, all legislative parties, and the Hungarian people, I am expressing a united wish for the restoration of diplomatic relations. Let me remark, at the same time, that the Hungarian government, with unchanged circumspection and in an unchanged manner, by obtaining all information and by insuring that it is well briefed, continues its foreign policy line by which the given principles—human rights, minority rights, the rights of nations for self-determination—can be well coordinated with the political requirements of stability.

We are sure that the Baltic states will play an active part in European cooperation and in the establishment of stability. We will continue our balanced policy, one which keeps European interests before our eyes. We resolutely caution against any irresponsible step that would aim at taking advantage of the difficulties of the republics within the Soviet Union and against anyone making our region more difficult or unstable.

We greet the resolution about independence by the legally elected parliaments of Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia, and we are shaping our relations by taking this into account.

The responsible and sober carrying out of our policies is especially important now, when certain individual subregions in our region are on the brink of economic collapse, when certain armed bodies in certain countries are making an attempt at direct politics—we have had already the opportunity to point this out at the Paris summit—and at a time when aggressive, expansive nationalism and other extremes are also appearing.

Relying on its stable relations, legislative democracy, and balanced foreign policy, the Hungarian Republic will—in the future too—cooperate with the European states, including Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, and we are sure that the united Europe will be a common home for all the nations living here.

It is in this vein that I recommend for adoption to my esteemed fellow deputies the National Assembly resolution that they have in front of them, and it is in this spirit that I welcome our esteemed guests. Hungary's objective and unconditional interest is the continuation of this foreign policy that includes the idea of a united Europe, the idea of Transatlanticism, and our good relations with neighboring countries in the whole of the region.

To conclude, I should like to make just this announcement to the esteemed National Assembly, that following the discussions last week with the Slovene and Croatian foreign ministers and the president of Macedonia, I will meet tomorrow on Yugoslav territory with Federal President Mr. Markovic.

Thank you for having listened to me, and I ask for the adoption of the proposed resolution.

Baltic Ministers Meet Press

LD0209215891 Budapest MTI in English 2017 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI)—After the protocol on the restoration of diplomatic relations between Hungary and the three Baltic states had been signed, the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian foreign ministers held a press conference in Budapest on Monday evening.

"A dark, tragic chapter has ended in the history of the Baltic republics. After more than five decades of oppression, the Baltic countries have now reappeared in the international scene as independent, sovereign states," Estonian Foreign Minister Lennart Meri said.

The three Baltic states will give priority to privatization and the reorientation of their relations from the East to the West, the Estonian foreign minister added.

The three foreign ministers shared the view that although the West followed the cause of the Baltic states with a great deal of sympathy, Hungary's experience might be of better use in meeting the practical problems since the Baltic states are facing the same challenges as Hungary. Foreign Minister Meri mentioned the vehicle and food industries as prospective fields of economic cooperation.

In reply to a question concerning the future relations between the Baltic states and the Soviet Union, Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas said that they would carefully study the economic union, once it has been established. Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans added that from now on the Baltic states would sign agreements on economic cooperation with democratic governments, on the basis of reciprocal benefits.

Concerning the future of the Russian minorities living in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the foreign ministers emphasized that the Baltic states would guarantee equal rights for all national minorities.

Concerning President Bush's statement on the Baltics, of which the three foreign ministers were informed during their talks with the speaker of Hungarian parliament, the Estonian foreign minister said it was always obvious that the United States, which had never recognized the annexation of the Baltic republics, would sooner or later make a statement like that. It can be understood, however, that a superpower did not want to be the first to make this step. The Lithuanian foreign minister said Bush's statement was timed perfectly.

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall held talks with the foreign ministers of the Baltic states on Monday. Under his proposal, the sides agreed to set up work groups, surveying the actual state of relations between Hungary and the Baltic states. Antall termed it as a pressing task to increase the modest trade turnover between Hungary and the Baltic states. At present, the Baltic states have a share of 2 per cent in Hungarian exports to the Soviet Union, and less than 1 per cent in imports.

The foreign ministers welcomed the Hungarian initiative to develop economic relations. The Estonian foreign minister said his country was ready to establish economic relations with no delay, and the ministers in charge would visit Hungary in September.

In conclusion, the Hungarian prime minister termed it as important for the Baltic states to strengthen their solidarity and coordinate their steps in the international scene.

Assembly Ratifies Open Skies Accord With Romania

LD0209174291 Budapest MTI in English 1544 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI)—The "Open Skies" agreement between the Hungarian and Romanian Governments was ratified today by parliament.

The document had been originally signed by the two governments on 11 May 1991.

Ministry Sends Note on SFRY Military Movements

LD3008172791 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—On Friday afternoon, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry handed over a note to an official of the Yugoslavian Embassy, in which the government of the Republic of Hungary emphasized that it did not consider the Yugoslavian Government's reply to its Monday request for information about the unusual military movements as completely reassuring, Janos Herman, foreign affairs spokesman, told MTI.

In view of Hungary's invariable desire to co-operate and maintain balanced relations with Yugoslavia, Hungary has now proposed holding bilateral consultations with the Yugoslavian Government on this affair. To this end, the procedural mechanism drawn up for 'unusual military movements, has created just such an opportunity. [quotation marks as received] The consultation is likely to take place in Vienna this weekend, the spokesman said.

Antall, Macedonia's Tupurkovski Discuss SFRY

LD3008212291 Budapest MTI in English 1809 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met on Friday Vasil Tupurkovski, the Macedonian member of the Yugoslavian State Presidency, on Friday.

Antall informed his guest that Hungary had called attention to the Yugoslavian situation even in the hardest hours of the Soviet coup, and emphasized that the Soviet turmoil should not eclipse Yugoslavia's internal crisis.

The prime minister confirmed that Hungary had, from the very beginning, had regarded a confederation of sovereign republics as an optimal solution. In a confederation like that, there might be closer or looser ties, but a solution can only be found in agreement with the peoples concerned. Antall emphasized that sovereignty and a nations' right to self-determination should not be granted selectively to the peoples of the world. He stressed the need to handle the right of self-determination, human rights and minority rights as one. The prime minister confirmed that the Hungarian position is formulated with the aspects of the Hungarian minority taken into view.

Assessing the Yugoslavian situation, Antall termed it as regrettable that the Yugoslav People's Army was cooperating with the irregular Chetnik forces and that the peoples living together side by side had been turned against each other.

Tupurkovski gave briefs on, and assessed, the situation of Yugoslavia, and outlined his ideas concerning the settlement of the crisis.

Interior Minister on Possible Social Unrest

AU0309074391 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 26 Aug 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Peter Boross by Tibor Franka on 25 August; place not given: "Strike Calls Are Also Generated by Self-Interest"]

[Text] Peter Boross gave an interview to Tibor Franka for Hungarian Television's "A Het" program on the question of whether a long and hot autumn was expected in Hungary. Among many other questions, the interviewer also asked our newspaper's questions, spending some time on political tension predicted by opposition circles. We publish the edited version of this interview:

[Franka] Mr. Boross! Covering the news conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the weekend newspapers reported, among other things, on a forthcoming "hot autumn." We keep hearing that a hot autumn is expected in Hungary.

[Boross] Some people have been making forecasts since the beginning of the summer and the expression "hot autumn" indeed repeatedly occurs. This was picked up by the media and is spreading mainly through the newspapers. As for what the hot autumn is? We can translate it as strikes and demonstrations....

[Franka] Can I also understand this that autumn means a taxi drivers blockade?

[Boross] It would not be good to mention the taxi drivers blockade again. Such an action cannot happen again; I can state this with responsibility.

[Franka] Have the taxi drivers also had enough?

[Boross] Yes, they have, too!

[Franka] Nevertheless, the Hungarian summer is expected to be full of struggle. We have had some attempts to call out strikes. The right to strike and the law on this issue allows the expression of this kind of opinion within a certain framework. The question is, what kind of intentions can lie behind a national strike call?

[Boross] Let us assume that some of these intentions are protests deriving from social considerations. Political intentions can also be in the background, but that is very hard to distinguish. However, whatever the intentions may be, a larger scale demonstration or strike wave would definitely do a lot of damage to Hungary. Foreign capital mainly considers relative calm. That exists in this country! If chaos was created in Hungary, in either the streets or within the factories, then foreign capital would not come.... Is that good for the strikers? Obviously not. If it has a political motivation, then I only trust in one thing, namely that our nation does not like strikes. Demonstrations are not a characteristic feature of our history unless the issue was national freedom. I trust in people's common sense because they know that chaos would only make the situation worse. I also hope that they will recognize that the self-promotion and self-interest of certain individuals and groups lie behind many strike initiatives.... It is impossible not to notice that strikes in Hungary are connected more than is acceptable to the attempts of certain individuals and groups to enforce their interests....

[Franka] Mr. Boross! You have mentioned groups and individuals who want to see a hot autumn. At the same time, the decisive majority of our population does not understand the reason that the change of regime was not accompanied by personal changes—without violence, of course, according to the rules of fair play....

[Boross] Anyone who has been following Hungarian constitutional processes since 1989 must clearly see that the change of regime did not take place by bursting into some leaders' offices and turning out the personnel so that some kind of a committee could replace them. It is natural for this kind of peaceful transition to involve a lot of compromises regarding personnel. The problem is that people who remained in certain positions cannot digest the events. They are unable to draw the conclusions relevant to them. Therefore, they can often be irritating in their personal behavior, private opinion, and personnel and labor affairs decisions.

[Franka] Are you saying that if someone is "sent off" the field by the times, then this person should not be shouting to the "substitute" without any responsibility?

[Boross] We have always had outside fortune tellers. Hungary has a tradition of certain circles writing forecasts. If I remember the 1977 party decision correctly, it clearly said that it would solve the economic problems. We know and even feel what happened. These predictions cannot be looked upon as theoretical essays of people in an ivory tower. They seem to gather together into some kind of a warning! This is a problem, mainly because it is irresponsible for the country. Although the things the forecasters wanted to happen did not actually materialize, they are not in the habit of saying sorry to their readers for having excited them in vain.

[Franka] What would the interior minister do? How seriously does he take the hot autumn?

[Boross] I am calm but not without anxieties.

[Franka] Are you also calm when people, mainly in towns and areas inhabited by laborers, often say that they are fed up with the daily price increases? They also say that it was still better when a kilogram of bread cost 3.60 forints. It is true that we had to eat in silence, and we could only "open our mouths at home".

[Boross] There are no obstacles to demonstrations within the legal limits in Hungary. This does not come under the interior minister's competence. When they say that the bread used to cost 3.60 forints, then most of them have to remember the salaries of those times, too. The pattern of general impoverishment is simply not true. In addition, this diverts attention from the truly disadvantaged people and the socially needy, a more limited group of people who should indeed be helped as soon as possible. People also must know that the current period of transition will last two or three years, with all its sorrow. Around November or December 1990, our opponents promised a hot spring. Now, they promise that the autumn will be hot—perhaps because of the summer holidays. I very much trust in honest thinking Hungarian people who see through this kind of publicists' bravado or tendentious newspaper interviews beyond those that are mainly inspired by dislike of the government. Naturally, one may dislike a government in a democratic country. However, the issue here is how much the protests would improve our country's situation if a hot summer of strikes or a series of protests and demonstrations were to start.

[Franka] Mr. Boross, does this mean that you expect a peaceful autumn?

[Boross] I rather desire a peaceful autumn.

Finance Minister Assures Inflation Under Control

LD3108214391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Statement by Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa on Hungarian inflation; place and date not given; recorded]

[Text] [Kupa] Figures of the past two months show that inflation practically has stopped, for we did not take any step that would have increased prices, including the devaluation of the forint, although it was forever talked about. So, regarding inflation, I am satisfied so far. I see one danger that, due to the considerable fall in the economy, the budget revenues are also less, and I must keep expenditures firmly in hand, for the expenditure increases inflation. However, so far, I see that I can control it, and I will do the same in the future, too.

Nearly 30,000 in Annual Replacement Draft

LD3108092691 Budapest MTI in English 1333 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Budapest, August 30 (MTI)—The Hungarian Army's Chief of Staff, in keeping with the annual replacement plan, called up 29,697 men for military service. Of them, 479 conscripts have been discharged due health, welfare and other reasons. Part of the new conscripts, 3,353 soldiers, are to serve as border guards, Col. Gyorgy Keleti, Ministry of Defence spokesman, told MTI.

Citing reasons of conscience, 17 men submitted requests for civilian service. Another man applied for unarmed military service, while 46 rejected all kinds of military service. An additional 118 men sent in excuses for their absence, and 343 of those called up failed to appear at their draft offices for unknown reasons.

Proceedings have been initiated against those refusing service, while circumstances are being investigated for those who failed to show up without a reason.

Official Stresses Access to West European Markets

LD3108165891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Interview with Istvan Major, deputy state secretary in the Ministry of International Economic Relations, by correspondent Erno Kardos; place and date not given; first paragraph announcer introduction—recorded]

[Text] After the coup attempt in Moscow, several statements have been made in Hungary and the Common Market member countries that it is time to accelerate talks between Hungary and the EC on Hungary's associate membership in the Common Market. According to the most recent report, the chairman of the Common Market commission said that a new proposal is being drawn up for the discussions on associate membership of Hungary, the CSFR, and Poland. Regarding Hungary, what is the subject and stake of the arguments? Erno Kardos spoke with Istvan Major, deputy state secretary in the Ministry of International Economic Relations:

[Major] I feel that the open questions are primarily related to Hungarian expectations. A number one problem must be mentioned, namely the handling of agricultural trade. One-third of Hungary's convertible exports are agricultural products and processed foodstuffs. Clearly, we can conclude a fair agreement with the EC if, in the sphere of agriculture, where we undeniably have very considerable comparative advantages, we are given appropriate market access concessions. Otherwise, we, ourselves, realize that the entire association agreement would be one-legged, and it would be disadvantageous from Hungary's viewpoint.

Regarding the reduction of customs duties on industrial products, it is true that we have managed to make them accept assymetry. This is a considerable achievement of the prior series of talks. The Community, within a relatively short time, will cut back all obstacles of a customs and noncustoms character vis-a-vis Hungarian industrial exports. We will implement customs reductions over a 10-year period, primarily in the second half of the period. However, it will be a fair settlement, from Hungary's viewpoint, if we are given considerable, tangible market access facilitations, concessions, in agriculture.

[Kardos] In the current phase of talks, what chance is there that Hungarian agriculture will find a real market in the Common Market countries?

[Major] Western Europe is still the world's largest agricultural buyer's market, as well as being one of the largest agricultural exporters in the world.

[Kardos] In your view, will the Hungarian consumer or citizen enjoy advantages from this association?

[Major] I am deeply convinced that in the short term it will have very many positive effects. Let us begin with the most apparent, that Hungarian export products will, henceforth, get onto the world's largest market without obstacles in the relatively short term. On this basis, we can considerably increase our exports.

Concluding an association agreement is a very important indication to West European capital that Hungary is there, somewhere, in the antechamber of economic Europe. Thus, we can justly expect that West European capital will flow into Hungary in larger amounts. We expect from the association agreement that, in its framework, the West Europeans will provide very considerable support for Hungarian infrastructural development, for example, the development of the road, railway, and telecommunications networks.

This will have an impact on everyday life, on unemployment, on the wage level in Hungary, that, we hope as part of the association agreement, will slowly begin to catch up with the West European Level. Only very rarely is it possible to call something a panacea, but from every viewpoint, this European policy and this rapprochement to Europe is such a thing.

Sejm Refuses To Accept Government Resignation

LD3108090991 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0900 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] The Sejm has refused to accept the dismissal of the government of Jan Krzysztof Bielecki. A few minutes ago results of the vote on the draft resolution to dismiss the Council of Ministers were announced: 211 deputies voted against, 114 for, and 28 abstained. There were seven invalid votes.

Bielecki Discusses Vote

LD3108191191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 31 Aug 91

[News conference by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki with unidentified correspondents on the Sejm's vote to reject the cabinet's resignation on 31 August; place not given; recorded]

[Excerpt] [Bielecki] Today is 31 August. This is a special day in the history of Poland; this is the day of Solidarity's victory; this is the day when Poland's chance to move away from the totalitarian system began, a chance to build a democratic system and a healthy economy. In this regard, to all the Solidarity people with whom I continue to feel bound—even though more than once I had to carry out difficult negotiations—to all Solidarity people, I would like to convey my feelings of respect.

The results of the vote bring surprising answers. As it happens, it has been for some time now—as I said earlier—that we have been witnessing amazing events. The result means that a new situation has arisen, but, of course, the problem remains. This problem is the crisis in the country and the lack of real ability [brak realnej zdolnosci] in the way the government governs. This requires deep thought, an immediate session of the Council of Ministers, and the submission to the esteemed house of such proposals that would mean that the government would be able to govern.

At the same time, I would like to mention yet another surprise: when agreeing to take on this function offered by the president, I was aware from the very beginning what kind of role it would be. I undertook, however, not to lead through any kind of political opportunism but to lead the country to the elections in the best possible state and with the involvement of all my goodwill. That is why I did not expect good wishes and praise, and, to tell the truth, I have never had any. However, I was completely overcome by the reactions of people, reactions that happened yesterday and last night. Yesterday, when I was working in my office at about 0100 in the morning, a group of young people arrived with expressions of support. I also had a mass of telegrams from my supporters, from my opponents, who were scared by the way the situation was developing and wanted the country to be strong and capable. To all these people, I would like to extend my most sincere thanks, because, after all, the most important thing is the people, the most important matter that Poland should be victorious. Thank you.

[Correspondent] Prime Minister, we would like an answer to a few questions. Is the result of the vote a personal success for you?

[Bielecki] I have already said what I had to say regarding the results of the voting and that whole situation. If you have any questions that concern the minister, then I will be willing. [passage omitted]

Few Floor Groups Support Resignation

LD3008165591 Warsaw PAP in English 1428 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Only three parliamentary floor groups called on the Sejm (Lower House) to accept the government's resignation, submitted by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki Friday morning.

These were: the Parliamentary Caucus of Democratic Left (PKLD) led by Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) headed by Jozef Zych, and the Parliamentary Labour Caucus whose leader Wieslawa Ziolkowska had unexpectedly proposed Thursday to recall the Bielecki cabinet.

However, leader of the Citizens' Parliamentary Caucus (OKP) Mieczyslaw Gil urged the chamber not to accept the resignation, and the Democratic Union (UD) caucus leader Bronislaw Geremek urged Bielecki to withdraw his resignation.

At the same time, Geremek urged the house to withdraw the motion to dismiss the cabinet.

These opinions were shared by leaders of other parliamentary floor groups, namely that of the Democratic Party (SD), the Solidarity of Labour, the Pax lay Catholic club, the Christian Social Union (UCHS), and the Ecological caucus. The Ecological floor group suggested Bielecki's government should present at the nearest Sejm meeting steps that are to be taken to salvage the Polish economy.

In another development, the Citizen's Caucus urged the general prosecutors office and the Foreign Ministry to launch investigation into the nature of contacts of leaders of the Social-Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP) with leaders of the attempted coup in Moscow directly before the coup had taken place.

Bielecki Urges Cooperation

LD3008155691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1315 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Statement by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki to the Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, may it please the House! It is almost difficult to take the floor in such a difficult situation, with such complicated statements by individual floor

groups. I heard a lot of regret expressed at the style of my speech. I know that some of you are outstanding orators, outstanding professional politicians. As I have discovered, Mr. Deputy Cimoszewicz [Democratic Left] began his professional career in 1963 with Wladyslaw Gomulka. I, indeed, started a little later.

On the other hand, perhaps we could have a moment of calm because you would like a dialogue to take shape. I do not want a submissive chamber, as has been repeatedly said here. I did not expect such an attitude. I want to cooperate with the chamber, motivated not by the principle that we will say who is more or who is less responsible, but by whether there exists a realistic ability for the government to make quick decisions. That is the basic and only criterion for making any decision, and I would like that to be absolutely clear.

On the other hand, there were a number of specific comments. I regret that Mr. Deputy Zych [Polish Peasant's Party] was so kind as to say that this campaign was conditional in nature. That is not how it is, Mr. Deputy. It results in plain language from the content of the letter that was sent to Private Farmers' Solidarity, and the law must not be broken so as to achieve—(?you will excuse me)—some illusory advantages, for if we allow such profound cuts in the interest rate, it means that we must also allow cuts on the deposit side. That is simple and obvious. I cannot do that, for it is simply an immoral action.

I would like to say one more thing. Mr. Deputy Cimoszewicz enumerated a huge list of (?questions) He did it (?in grand style). But, leaving aside the arguments, not wanting to get into an improvised polemic, I would like to say thank you, Mr. Deputy—for one thing—you demanded a report on the State of the Nation. Yes, Mr. Deputy, I think so, too.

Only once did I allow myself public criticism of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiceki's government—precisely for this reason—that in announcing the policy of the hard line [under the communist past], he did not draw up such a report on the condition of the state. He did not draw up an inventory of the assets that he was taking over [applause], and today we can, of course, reverse this situation and say that it was these two years—not even fully two years—that brought Poland to ruin. Facts, however, remain facts, and I was speaking about facts. If I am asked the question, that it is I, the government, that ought to answer the question of why an unemployed man pays surtax [as heard], then of course, it is a certain sort of pure nonsense [previous two words in English] and an incidental occurrence, but they really have a place within our reality. Well, I could say that that is why I have been asking the esteemed chamber about this since January: that a draft law amending the law on employment has been waiting since January, so that we might act in a realistic manner.

Basically, if we do not make certain difficult decisions, then whatever we might say to one another about a sense of responsibility, about style—however much we might (?accept) certain facts in this hall—we will not have the ability to competently manage the state, to manage this government or any other government. Someone has to make these decisions. After all—and I think I said it in a calm way—Poland faces the issue of choice and not the possibility of meeting all claims. After all, who doesn't have claims today? Can we say that only the farmers submit claims? Why ignore the miners, whose standard of living has considerably deteriorated, precisely within these conditions of economic reconstruction? There are many of these professional groups with things to say. So if we want to discuss the budget, the way in which it is created, then let us also say that there are certain choices, that an increase on the side of expenditure is a road leading to nowhere.

It is the road to the deepening of the (?gaps). Of course the government, two months before the elections, could go for such a solution. But after all, speaking before the esteemed House during my first days, I said clearly that I would not be swayed by the wind in politics, that in my best convictions I want to bring this state to the elections in such a condition whereby the next government will still be able to function in this state. And, of course... [applause] ...you can agree with this evaluation or not, but please also accept sometimes that someone can be guided by goodwill, but also say no decisively to the lack of opportunities for efficient action. That is all, I think, in this rather improvised discussion of ours. Thank you. [applause]

Ziolkowska: Caucus Not Defeated

LD3108193791 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 31 Aug 91

[News conference by Wieslawa Ziolkowska, head of the parliamentary labor caucus, with unidentified correspondents in Warsaw on 31 August; recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] You put forward the motion to recall the government; meanwhile, the government emerged from the (?entire) battle victorious. Is this a personal defeat for you?

[Ziolkowska] Neither for me nor my parliamentary floor group. [passage omitted]

We did not want the economic policy mistakes to become a tool in the election game for creating illusions that the situation in Poland could easily be quickly improved.

[Correspondent] But the group ...

[Ziolkowska, interrupting] If the government proposes even small corrections to socioeconomic policy, if the government takes up a positive stand at least to certain farmers' demands contained in the recent farmers' declaration, then I think, if you want to already have those categories of success, that will be the success of this entire matter.

[Correspondent] But the group submitted the proposal for dismissal and no dismissal occurred; that's a clear defeat.

[Ziolkowska] Not at all. The parliamentary floor group was not trying to bring the government down.

[Correspondent] But what if the government had been brought down?

[Ziolkowska] Then the group, as the constitutional formula says, that [word indistinct] recalls and entrusts the execution of the function for a specified period, then in any case, in that time, the group would have managed in that interim period to force the corrections in the socio-economic policy.

Walesa Spokesman on Events

LD3008164891 Warsaw PAP in English 1423 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—The government of Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, which enjoyed the support of President Lech Walesa, has been the victim of a counter-attack by forces identified with the old system, and had several times been paralysed in its actions by a Parliament dominated by former communists, Andrzej Drzycimski, press spokesman for President Walesa, claimed on Friday.

Drzycimski said that the current wave of strikes in Poland was spreading so widely as to reduce the possibility of negotiated settlements. "In this situation, the government needs plenipotentiary powers to allow it to function, particularly in the economic sphere. This would not change Poland's democratic structures, but would allow for an acceleration of essential economic reforms," he said.

Drzycimski said that, despite the political reforms in Poland, legal loopholes had appeared in the commercial code from which individuals and companies had been able to benefit. President Walesa had warned against this previously, when he was leader of "Solidarity," and again during the presidential elections.

The current state of affairs in Poland requires, more than ever, decisive and effective action. "It is for the Sejm to take the first step," Drzycimski stressed. The president will state his final position on the basis of the Sejm's decision, taking into account the interests of a destabilised country.

The president will use in full his constitutional powers, concluded Drzycimski.

Solidarity Blames 'Post-Communists'

LD3008180991 Warsaw PAP in English 1639 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 30—Following the resignation of Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's cabinet, submitted to the Polish Sejm (lower house) Friday, the Democratic Social Movement (RDS) called on political parties and groupings to immediately form a joint government of "outstanding non-party people of great talents and capabilities" that would "put an end to the progressing disintegration of the state."

"Chaos is the most dangerous enemy of democracy. We cannot expose it (democracy) to such danger any longer," the statement signed by RDS leader Zbigniew Bujak said.

The Liberal-Democratic Congress (KL-D) whose member is Premier Bielecki expressed its anxiety at "the suicidal political games in the Sejm" and blamed opponents of reforms for "purposefully introducing chaos and making any work impossible." In its statement the KL-D praised Bielecki for having undertaken "difficult service" as prime minister and said it trusted that he "will not be left alone."

The Solidarity union national leadership voiced its "indignation and protest against attempts on the part of the 'contractual' (that is post-communist) part of the Sejm to paralyse the administration of the state." Solidarity, which was the initiator of political changes and economic reforms expresses its "will and determination to carry out these changes to the successful end," the union's leadership declared.

In the opinion of the Warsaw chapter of the Solidarity union Maciej Jankowski [as received] it is not the Bielecki cabinet but the Sejm and the previous government (of Tadeusz Mazowiecki) to blame for failing to disperse the post-Communist alignments and for departure from the line of reforms.

Solidarity Factory Unions National Alliance (SIEC) received the news on Bielecki's cabinet resignation with anxiety in face of the recent developments in the Soviet Union. In an appeal addressed to President Lech Walesa the SIEC leaders asked him to reject the resignation and order the Bielecki cabinet to start implementing a recovery programme. It also demanded the dissolution of the "contractual" Sejm in order to prevent post-Communist deputies' attempts to dismantle the state. Finally, the SIEC leaders also called for bringing to accountibility those responsible for the economic collapse of the country.

Mazowiecki's Views 'Crisis'

LD0109125891 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1005 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Studio interview with Tadeus Mazowiecki, chairman of the Democratic Union, by Andrzej Jelenski—live]

[Excerpts] [Jelenski] The guest of listeners to the program, "Right at Midday" is Mr. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Democratic Union. Could I ask you, above all, Mr. Chairman, for an assessment of the government crisis that has occured in the last few days.

[Mazowiecki] I think this crisis was a very bad thing: both the original motion of Deputy Wieslawa Ziolkowska and also the government's dismissal announced by Prime Minister Bielecki were bad things. That kind of eddying has strengthened the feeling of instability and complete disrepute, I would say, for solving state issues, when two months before the elections it was known that the collapse of the government could not be allowed.

[Jelenski] If we were to speculate, if the government's resignation was accepted, what could have happened in this unstable Polish political landscape?

[Mazowiecki] There would have undoubtedly been very great difficulties with appointing a new government. We would have had one more interim situation during those two months, when decisions on the budget would have had to be taken and when it would be necessary to take many important and up-to-the- minute decisions. This has happened such a very short time after the dramatic week in the Soviet Union.

[Jelenski] As I wandered arout the Sejm lobbies, I heard some people saying that, if the government was dismissed, then parliamentary elections might not even be held. Some people considered that a possibility.

[Mazowiecki] Those are but speculations. I do not think there would be any reasons for the parliamentary elections not being held. I do not think there were any reasons for that.

[Jelenski] Seeing that I the chance to talk to you, I must ask about the problem of the thick line. Recently, Prime Minister Bielecki said that the thick line has done a lot of harm.

[Mazowiecki] Yes, I have heard that remark by Prime Minister Bielecki. I am amazed by the talk about no inventory of assets being carried out as a result of the so-called thick line. First, I am amazed because Prime Minister Bielecki was a deputy at that time and never submitted such a demand for an inventory to be carried out. Second, I think that Prime Minister Bielecki is perfectly aware of—and if he is not, let him ask Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz—what conditions we inherited in the situation and whether it was possible to talk about a serious inventory then of the national assets. Who was supposed to have drawn up that inventory ? We had other important state tasks. I'm reminding you that in 1989 the government had to set and draw up a draft budget three times. No one put forward such demands at the time, and they were impossible to carry out; there was no reliable body that could have drawn up such an inventory in a reliable manner.

If we are talking about the so-called think line, however, that is a mystifying concept. You only need to reach for my speech, it was the August speech. I literally said this: We are marking off the past with a thick line, and we are going to be responsible for what we have done ourselves. Thus, the so-called thick line was not any kind of forgetting nor a dismissal of the fact; it was necessary to bring guilty people to account, whether for crimes or excesses, and those things were implemented, moreover, in a situation where Poland was the only country carrying out such great transformations. In my conviction, it was the only way to move toward evolutionary changes in Poland, so as not to allow any witch hunts to take place, and so as to avoid the danger of some kind of civil war. Thus, now the mystifying of that concept is quite simply a political step carried out during the presidental election campaign, and it is dishonest to renew this kind of accusation at this time. In any case, eight months have passed since I departed and nothing [words indistinct] other than what we did has consistently not been done. [passage omitted]

Government Submits Proposal to Rule by Decree

LD0309054591 Warsaw PAP in English 2259 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 2—A government draft law designed to give the government constitutional powers to rule by decrees was submitted to the Sejm (lower house) on September 2, the Government Press Office reported here stating that "the realization of decisions has begun which were adopted by the Council of Ministers on Sunday during its debate on issues connected with the efficient managment of the state".

Reporting the main points of the draft document the Government Press Office said that the government became convinced that in time of a tense international and internal situation the weak position of the executive authorities and obstacles hampering the decison-making processes are the issues which need to be urgently solved.

The draft law envisages that the special powers when granted to the government would cover "broadly understood economic matters, tasks of the local governments and their finances and the restructuring of the state administration system by means of transforming the government administration offices.

The document also says that special powers would not apply to regulations pertaining to supreme matters of the socio-political system and those of crucial importance from the point of view of the rights and duties of citizens.

The granting of special powers to the government would not exclude the possibility for using normal legislative procedure in all matters, on the initiative of the Council of Ministers.

The draft law envisages constitutional measures controlling the government's use of special powers. A decree could be lifted not only by another decree but also by a law adopted at the initiative of the Sejm (lower house). The decrees would also be fully subject to the evaluation of the constitutional tribunal.

The draft document says however that the Sejm's powers to appoint and nominate ministers would be suspended.

Until the beginning of the the first session of the newly elected parliament members of the Council of Ministers could be appointed and dismissed by the president acting on the motion of the prime minister.

The draft constitutional law would come into force on the day of its announcement and would expire three months after the first session of the new Sejm (lower house) elected for the 1991-1995 term of office is held.

The law on special powers must be accompanied by an amendment to the Polish Constitution generally reforming that issue. The Council of Ministers is to examine a related draft document on Tuesday. It also forwarded a motion to the Sejm asking it to call this week an extraordinary session devoted to the two government initiatives.

Cabinet To Consider Amendments

LD0309055191 Warsaw PAP in English 2305 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 2—Poland's cabinet on Tuesday will examine the government's proposals of amendments to the Constitution.

The amendments are corresponding to the need to strengthen the government's executive powers, head of the governmewnt press office Jacek Kozlowski revealed.

The issue will be discussed during the second part of the meeting to start at 8 Pm tuesday so that Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz and Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Dariusz Ledworowski could attend it after their return from a two-day visit to Moscow.

Earlier in the day, the Cabinet will examine new draft laws and amendments to some of the exiting ones, including the law on protecting state and business secrets, and an amendment sharpening penal sanctions for violating fiscal, tax and foreign currency regulations.

Walesa Warns Farmers Over Intended Strike

LD3008213991 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] The general strike by farmers announced for 5 September by the National Union of Farmers and Agricultural Circles and Organizations has received support from the Polish Peasant Party and numerous agricultural branch unions. This is emphasized in a communique received from the national union. President Lech Walesa phoned the union today warning that he would apply to the prosecutor's office if it is true they intend to occupy the offices of the Council of Ministers and the Belweder, without asking for any explanations on this matter. Janusz Maksymiuk, the chairman of the main council, later tried to contact the president, but without success.

Rural Solidarity Demands Government Intervention

LD3108085191 Warsaw PAP in English 2015 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 28—"There is hardly a Polish province where purchase prices for agricultural produce are fair. We demand radical intervention from the government to prevent a slump in the purchase of agricultural products, particularly grain," Gabriel Janowski, head of the Rural Solidarity trade union, said on Wednesday.

Janowski also called on the Polish Government to press the governments of the U.S.A. and the EC countries to purchase Polish grain with some of the funds allocated for food aid to the newly-independent republics emerging from the Soviet Union.

He announced that Rural Solidarity's parliamentary group in the Sejm and the Senate had introduced legislation to allow debt relief for Polish farmers. Without this, he said, many Polish farms will not be able to expand.

Janowski declared Rural Solidarity's support for the protest actions by farmers in Zamosc Province (eastern Poland), declaring the farmers demands to be relevant for agricultural policy throughout Poland.

Bielecki Aware of Farmers' Problems

LD0109104191 Warsaw PAP in English 2138 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Czestochowa, Aug. 31—Polish Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki met here on Saturday with farmers attending the annual harvest festival telling them that he is aware of the apathy, dissatisfaction, disillusionment and lack of mutual understanding.

Continuing, Bielecki said that he is aware of the situation in which Poland found herself. "Apart from the economic crisis, we also have to overcome a political crisis and to strive towards the victory of democracy. The road of Poland's restructuring is a long one, it is a process which will last for years, when the governing and the governed unfortunately commit mistakes," stressed the premier.

Referring to problems of Polish farmers the premier said that the government has undertaken recently a number of decisions, including the introduction of higher tarrifs. Among optimistic signs the premier pointed to an increase of prices for slaughter animals. "At this moment one could import meat to Poland to avert a possible increase of retail prices. However, I am of the opinion that such decisions should not be undertaken," said Bielecki.

Referring to a number of questions, the premier stressed that the government is not an anti-peasant government

"but one cannot introduce in Poland's agriculture solutions similar to those adopted in the West, where only several per cent of the population are employed in agriculture and where states are wealthy enough to widely subsidize agricultural production. Mechanisms of aiming agriculture by the state budget must be adjusted to the possibilities of the state," said Bielecki.

Chairman of the Solidarity Trade Union of Farmers Gabriel Janowski recalled during the meeting that the present government, as well as the previous one, has not listened with attention to opinions voiced by farmers. "We were not listened to, but being aware of the state of the country we appeal once again for concrete talks with farmers on the improvement of the situation in agriculture, this may contribute to the overcoming of general crisis."

Ending the meeting, Premier Bielecki conveyed to all Polish farmers traditional best wishes and asked them for a bit of patience and forbearance.

Soviet Base at Czarna To Be Vacated 'This Year'

LD3108102591 Warsaw PAP in English 1516 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Tarnow, Aug. 30—The Soviet Government's plenipotentiary for USSR troops stationed in Poland notified the Polish side that the Soviet base situated in the locality of Czarna in the Tarnow Province, south-east Poland will be turned over to Poland this year, the Tarnow provincial office reported Friday.

Only three months earlier the command of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army claimed it would not be possible to remove Soviet troops from Czarna earlier than by the end of 1993. A communications unit was said to be stationed there to maintain contacts between the Soviet troops in the former East Germany and the southern part of the Soviet Union.

Diplomatic Ties With Latvia Restored

LD0209213191 Warsaw PAP in English 1934 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 2—Latvia, as the first Baltic republic, has positively replied to Polish proposal on establishing inter-state relations and restoring diplomatic relations.

Letters from Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and diplomatic notes from the Polish Foreign Ministry were handed to republics' authorities by Polish Foreign Ministry delegation headed by the consular department deputy director Grzegorz Kostrzewa Zorbas who had visited Riga, Tallinn and Vilnius.

Foreign Ministry director Wladyslaw Klaczynski reported Monday that positive replies were also expected from Lithuanian and Estonian authorities in the coming days.

Bielecki on Relations With Army, Joining NATO

LD3008193891 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1730 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] During a break in the Sejm proceedings, Prime Minister Bielecki met with the generals of the Polish Army:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, one question. You are directing your first steps after the stormy Sejm debate to the Army. What problems will you be discussing with the Army leadership, and what do you expect from this meeting?

[Bielecki] I do not have any time. I just wanted to say one thing: Over and above the stormy debates, the state still exists, obligations still exist. I agreed with the leadership that we would meet today and very late to be sure, but I want to keep this obligation. [end recording]

[Begin recording of undated Bielecki speech] Today, when things are difficult, when it is more dangerous, some shout: Take it away, abolish the Army. Others say: We have a state of the highest danger; outlays on the Army must be increased. Our problem, the problem of Poland, rests on the fact that...

[Unidentified person whispers words to Bielecki] [end recording]

[Correspondent] After less than two minutes of his speech, the prime minister was interrupted by a telephone call from President Walesa. After returning to the hall, the prime minister did not betray the substance of his conversation with the president.

[Begin recording] [Bielecki] Today, NATO plays a very strong role in Europe. It seems that this is the direction in which we should go. That would also bring in certain new elements to our level of armament and training. With this lack of a defense doctrine, with this—what is at the moment rather a purely nonsensical arrangment that I recently found out about: that we have parachute airborne divisions, very good ones, with good personnel, well-trained soldiers, but in practice without planes, as they were to have been supplied in case of need, yes, by another, then allied power—all of this means that we must arrange many things anew. I fear, however, that here we are dealing with a certain process. If a few months ago, Poland had decided to say yes, we want to belong to NATO tomorrow, then we would have met with this situation, such a reaction as President Havel met with, that to belong to NATO one unfortunately needs the agreement of two sides, and not just one of them. [end recording]

Labor 'Solidarity' Presents Warsaw Candidates

AU0209071091 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 28 Aug 91 p 2

['ard'-signed report: "Labor 'Solidarity' Criticizes 'Solidarity' Government"]

[Text] "Poland is entering a Bolivian scenario. The penultimate stage of that scenario was the dismissal of doctors and teachers, and the final stage saw the authorities concentrate their forces against a general strike," warned Deputy Ryszard Bugaj, the leader of Labor "Solidarity," at a meeting at which the party's parliamentary candidates for Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship were presented.

Warsaw candidates include Deputy Ryszard Bugaj; Deputy Andrzej Milkowski, professor of law at Warsaw University; Wlodzimierz Jurokowski, president of the Warsaw branch of the Tenants Association; and Tadeusz Janiszewski, deputy mayor of Praga-South. Labor "Solidarity" will field 11 candidates for the 17 seats in Warsaw.

During the presentation, Professor Piekara said: "Under Mazowiecki and Bielecki, an exceptionally fruitful institutional solution, that is, local self-government, was discredited in a doctrinaire and infantile manner." Piekara said: "The idea of 'wiping the slate clean' has meant that old cliques are still in power or have been replaced by new cliques that have copied the behavior patterns of the old ones."

Wlodzimierz Pankow, the head of the Labor "Solidarity" campaign headquarters, said that both "Solidarity" governments "have betrayed the values that were the cornerstone of the movement: solidarity and justice." In his opinion, populism and demagogy are permissible in an election campaign and "are justified under certain circumstances."

Asked about the financing of the Labor "Solidarity" campaign, Ryszard Bugaj said that every candidate must pay 2 million zlotys into an election fund, and everyone who is currently a deputy must pay in 4 million zlotys.

According to Bugaj, the Liberal Democratic Congress is collecting signatures in an unethical manner. He mentioned that, in Gliwice, the Congress organized a raffle for a television set among those who signed a list of candidates.

"We have lodged a protest with the State Election Commission concerning this matter. The incident calls into question the integrity of these politicians," added Bugaj.

Labor "Solidarity" wants to field candidates in nine districts. In Warsaw, about 3,000 signatures have been gathered for lists of deputies (about 5,000 are necessary). Labor "Solidarity" lists will also include Polish Socialist Party activists (the party will not be putting forward its own lists) and activists from Zbigniew Bujak's Democratic-Social Movement.

In Radom, the leading candidate on the Labor "Solidarity" list is to be Piotr Ikonowicz from the Polish Socialist Party (he was formerly leader of the party's extreme left-wing faction, the "Democratic Revolution" Polish Socialist Party). He will be running against Deputy Jan Lopuszanski (Christian National Union), who is a candidate for the Catholic Election Campaign.

Janina Jankowska (a journalist for Polish Radio's First Program) will not be running as a Labor "Solidarity" list candidate contrary to what we reported. We were told that she would not be running by one of the association's leaders. We apologize.

Government Proposes Unemployment Program

LD0309005491 Warsaw PAP in English 1806 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 2—A programme designed to counteract the progressing unemployment in Poland, was presented by Labour Minister Michal Boni in Warsaw Monday.

The basic aim of the programme, called the Social Protection Zone (SOZ) is to encourage local enterprise, and integrate activities of the state administration, self-governments and trade unions to relieve the effects of unemployment.

There were nearly 1,750,000 jobless registered in Poland by the end of July, that is 9.35 percent of the workforce, or 14.11 percent of those employed in the national economy (outside agriculture).

The programme envisages relief schemes to cover the jobless and those who expect to be fired. Rapid intervention teams will offer assistence in seeking other jobs and encourage to learn other skills.

The programme may be especially welcomed by local authorities aad unions in those towns where nearly all inhabitants are employed in a single factory, as is the case of the insolvent lorry manufacturer in starachowice whose bankruptcy means unemployment of nearly all the workforce in the town.

Poll Views Support for Cabinet, Prime Minister

LD0109102291 Warsaw PAP in English 1838 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 31—According to the latest data of the public opinion research centre, 43 per cent of the respondents voiced approval at the end of this August for the work of Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's government. The same percentage of respondents voiced disapproval and 14 per cent did not have their own opinion on this topic.

57 per cent of the respondents positively sized up the work of Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, 28 per cent of the respondents disapproved of the premier's work while 15 per cent did not have opinion on this subject.

28 per cent of the respondents came out for giving the government special powers to issue ordinances with the power of laws, 30 per cent of the respondents opposed such a plan, 26 per cent did not have their own opinion on the subject and 16 per cent of the respondents showed the lack of any interest in the matter.

SFRY Apologize for Airliner Interception

AU3108174591 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] [Announcer] In connection with the interception of two foreign airliners in the military zone of Zagreb Airport on suspicion of illegally carrying arms, our special envoy in Belgrade, Dana Popescu, reports:

[Begin Popescu recording] According to TANJUG, two planes, one Ugandan and one Romanian, were forced to land at Zagreb Civil Airport by planes of the Yugoslav Air Force. TANJUG reports that exchanges of fire could be heard at Zagreb Airport. One of the intercepted planes, a Boeing 707 of Uganda Airlines, carried 19 tonnes of weapons made in Singapore. The second plane forced to land, a Tupolev 154 of the Romanian TAROM company with 20 Romanian passengers on board, did not carry weapons and was allowed to resume its flight, TANJUG says. We will return with further details about the incident. [end recording]

[Announcer] From sources of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, we learned the following: This morning, Mr. (?Mafic), Yugoslavia's deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, summoned Mr. Constantin (?Gilda), Romanian charge d'affaires to Belgrade, whom he briefed on the forcing of a Romanian civilian airplane by Yugoslav military planes to land at Zagreb Airport. The reason for the interception was that, at the time, several planes were flying in Yugoslav airspace and one of them was suspected of carrying arms. After the landing, the Romanian plane was searched, and it was ascertained that it was a civilian plane on a routine flight; consequently, it was allowed to resume its flight. Mr. (?Mafic) expressed regret and apologized for the incident. He asked the Romanian charge d'affaires to convey his apologies to the Romanian authorities.

Nastase Views Diaspora, Relations With U.S.

AU3008183691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0818 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/8/1991—We cannot and we have not the right to neglect the Diaspora, on the contrary, the Romanian Diaspora can and must be an important element in the development of the Romanian society, the Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase said in an interview with the daily "TINERETUL LIBER". He added that, in its turn, the Diaspora needs to keep in touch with its country of origin, to maintain its cultural, language identity. The minister also opined that, in any case, Romania shouldn't "jump" at the Diaspora and let it think that we want to act like in the past period and take it under control, make it part of a certain political strategy. We need patience, and this patience has started to bear fruit, continued Adrian Nastase. " I favor the idea of the Diaspora's having its own evolution, in its own space, and being given support within limits acceptable for any community.", specified Minister Adrian Nastase. "At the same time, we shall have to invite more often to Bucharest representatives of the Diaspora, and we'll begin organizing such meetings as early as this year's autumn, not ostentatiously, but letting the wounds of the past get cured, so that the relationship between the Diaspora and the Romanian society develop naturally."

"We must understand that our relationship with the United States pursues more than ties with the administration. It comprises ties with the U.S. Congress, with the U.S. written press, with the U.S. lobbies," Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase says in his interview with the daily "TINERETUL LIBER". Showing that the Romanians often fail to offset the influence of certain pressure groups or lobbies, Mr. Nastase emphasizes that our relationship with the United States can only be conceived on the long term in an effort to supply a steady flow of information to the United States, to persuade it that Romania is a country of strategic and economic interest.

I found out during my Berlin talk with Secretary of State Baker a readiness for being listened to. If we manage to put normal channels for communication in place, I believe our relationship with the United States will take a normal course. We must be patient to achieve this and not develop an unlove, misunderstanding complex, a deserving complex, the Romanian foreign affairs minister says. [sentence as received]

Lifting of Jackson-Vanick Amendment Hailed

AU0209084591 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 22 Aug 91 p 1

[Article by Romulus Caplescu: "Finally, the Clause on the Horizon!"]

[Excerpts] In the middle of the avalanche of news about the dramatic events in the USSR—which, of course, continue to unfold at a breathtaking pace, being accordingly covered by all of the mass media—there is, nevertheless, an encouraging piece of news, at least for us Romanians: Last Tuesday [20 August], President Bush announced the lifting of the Jackson-Vanick Amendment for our country, an essential step that opens the way for regaining most favored nation [MFN] status. [passage omitted]

It seems that the result of various investigations conducted by Washington regarding our country has been positive, which explains the White House decision. One can also assume that a certain role was also played in this respect by the brusque change of mind on the part of the opposition, which, after opposing with a perseverance worthy of a better cause any official help from the West, including the reinstatement of the MFN clause, has finally realized the hopelessness of that position. It is not excluded that this change of mind may have something to do with the forthcoming local election, which is just around the corner. [passage omitted]

Of course, the lifting of the amendment is only a first stage in the process of regaining MFN status because a new Romanian-U.S. trade agreement must be negotiated and the Congress must endorse the clause, which will require some time. For the time being, the lifting of the amendment entitles our country to various loans that are guaranteed by the U.S. Government.

Anyway, we have covered another portion along the road of Romania's reintegration in the world economic circuit—an additional incentive to put our own economy in order because only thus will we be able to truly profit from the clause, when we get it again.

Trade Minister on Commercial Trade With USSR

AU3008161191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1019 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/8/1991—Starting the second half of this year, the commercial exchanges between Romania and the USSR were deblocked by a document recently sealed between the two countries, stated to a "ROMPRES" reporter Mr. Constantin Fota, minister of trade and tourism.

Romania and the USSR passed on to a new settlement of accounts system in dollars, he also specified, which enables the Romanian economic agents to fulfill their export contracts and import other products, especially raw and auxiliary materials needed by the national economy. It is essential that the Romanian exporters should honor their export contracts and conclude new ones so as to obtain from the USSR the products we so badly need, more particularly fuel coal, natural gas, electric power, iron ores, ferroalloys, copper, nickel, synthetic rubber, tires, timber, resinous wood, and others, said Mr. Fota. We shall promote the idea that the Romanian exporters be stimulated to make exports on a barter basis. We see such a stimulation in allotting part of the exports they make in the USSR in hard currency.

The Romanian delegation that recently visited the Soviet Union also approached the republics, underscored Mr. Fota, mentioning that a trade accord has already been signed with the Republic of Moldova and a trade agreement was sealed with the Russian Federation which is to be signed during President Yeltsin's visit to Romania this autumn. Furthermore, a project is under way with Ukraine, and there are contacts with the Baltic republics. We are open to direct relations with all the Soviet republics having in view our interest in ever more intensely developing economic and commercial ties with them, the minister of trade and tourism also stated.

Referring to the recent Jackson-Vanik waiver, Constantin Fota showed that its immediate importance for Romania lay in its having access to several imports from the U.S.A. financed by credit commodity corporation which delivers agricultural products on advantageous credit terms. Romania intends to generally orient its foodstuff imports to that supplying source.

As for the most favored nation's clause which is a still unsolved question, its absence creates Romania big problems making a number of Romanian products uncompetitive in comparison with those exported by countries benefitting from this clause.

PNL Head Addresses Parliament on RCP Ban

AU0209213091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1819 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/9/1991—National Liberal Party [PNL] President Radu Campeanu made a statement before Parliament's opening sitting of the new session.

Referring to the coup in the USSR on the night of 18/19 August, Senator Campeanu proposed the definitive ban of the Communist Party of Romania [RCP], including its present forms of representation as "Socialist Party of Labor" and "Communist Party". He also demanded that all the assets of the RCP should be placed under parliament's control and that the president of Romania, the prime minister and his government, the chairmen and the permanent bureaus of the two chambers, the director of the Romanian Intelligence Service (SRI), as well as the president of the Supreme Court and the attorney general should publicly confess, in clear and unequivocal terms, their positions to the RCP and to its ideology.

He also requested the public prosecutor to take legal action against the persons responsible for initiating, organizing and carrying out the repression of the anti-communist social and political movements over the period 1947-1990.

He demanded inquiries into the political activities of the members of the executive political bureau of the RCP, of the heads of section and of the members of the Central Committee who were in charge of the activities of the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Justice and of the public prosecutors over the same period.

"To be consistent with our own beliefs, we demand from the present political power in Romania its total support for guaranteeing the independence and sovereignty of our brothers in Bessarabia, Bukovina and the Hertsa District", said the senator, adding to the previous claims the one regarding the abolition of the political power's monopoly over the Romanian radio [and] television and the subordination of this important institution to Parliament.

Senator Campeanu stated that the National Liberal Party considered that only when these demands were met could the political atmosphere in Romania return to normal, the population's daily needs be satisfied and social tensions eased. Only in this way could the worsening of the present situation be avoided and the ground prepared for real reforms.

Consequently, he asked Parliament to debate his statement and the government to immediately set in operation the proposals contained therein.

Attorney General Rejects PAC Allegations

AU0309053191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1809 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/9/1991—In connection with the recent declaration-appeal of the first national conference of the Civic Alliance Party (PAC), which says, among other things, that totalitarian communist structures have survived and continue to be active in the public prosecutors' offices of Romania and consequently demands investigations into the activities of attorneys [word indistinct] and the disbandment of the General Attorney's Office as an independent organ, the Steering Body of the Magistrature makes it known that:

"There are no totalitarian communist structures in Romania's public prosecutors' offices. Attorneys are not affiliated to and do not act for political parties. In applying the law, they are independent from political bodies. They are answerable for their activities only before juridic authorities. The attorney's offices have no objection to the request of investigation into the attorneyship activities, the magistrates themselves being interested in exposing law abuse committed during the totalitarian regime and being determined to contribute, as much as this is still possible, to removing their consequences", writes a press release of the Attorney General's Office of Romania.

The communique further says that in the general reform of the judiciary, as outlined by Romania's new draft constitution, the attorney's offices shall be reorganized as public ministry under the authority of the minister of justice.

The communique also remarks:

"We must note with regret that the authors of the declaration-appeal either know nothing of the attorneys' activities, and in this case their assertions spring from ignorance, or they do know the activities of this institution and in this latter case their statement becomes intentionally defamatory.

"Whatever the explanation, the declaration of the Civic Alliance does nothing to encourage democracy or strengthen the state of law. On the contrary."

Foreign Minister: Nation Free of Anti-Semitism

AU3008160491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1240 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/8/1991—I don't think there is an anti-Semitic sentiment in Romania: I am sure our society does not have the germs of anti-Semitism, Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase told the daily "TINERETUL LIBER" in an interview. However, he said there was something he regarded as very dangerous, namely that the Romanians do not have the wisdom not to give cause for external action against their country.

There are quite few people who are waiting for such evidence of political immaturity and lack of wisdom on our part and, unfortunately, they manage to find the arguments to discredit us in our own political space and press, the minister says and adds: Let us stop the chain of false disputes down here at home, and avoid all pretexts that might bring into the focus problems that do not accord with the general sentiment in Romanian society.

ROMANIA LIBERA Details EEC Aid

AU0209114591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1036 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/9/1991—Under a framework agreement and a memorandum of understanding signed by the Romanian Government last March the EEC gave Romania 100 million ECU [European Currency Unit] (120 million U.S. dollar) in aid as part of the PHARE programme, reminds daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" of 30 August.

The breakdown of this aid is as follows: 25 million ECUs for fodders, additives, farm equipment and machinery; 25 million ECUs for the import of medicines, medical equipment and assistance, 22 million ECUs for technical assistance in general, 10 million ECUs for the TEMPUS [expansion unknown] programme for higher-school training and the mobility of the academic staff; nine million ECUs to import food processing and distribution equipment and spare parts.

EEC humanitarian relief for Romania is put at 83 million ECUs (99.6 million U.S. dollars) of which 53 million ECUs are for food imports, 20 million ECUs for an orphanage and centres for handicapped or homeless children programme, and 10 million ECUs to import medicines.

But Romania is also a recipient of EEC-subsidised regional projects for Central and East Europe that make provision for an extra 15 million ECUs for the TEMPOS programme, five million ECUs for the action for economic cooperation programme, 20 million ECUs in aid to the creation of joint ventures, three million ECUs for adjustment to customs taxes and standards, three million ECUs for statistics, 12.5 million ECUs for environmental projects, and 15 million ECUs for unspecified aims.

Banking Official Discusses Convertibility Measures

AU3008174491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0925 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/8/1991—With a view to making the leu convertible, an inter-bank exchange market

and currency exchange bureaus were set up where the exchange rate is determined by the demand and offer rules. The economic agents with state or private capital have free access to currency exchange for competitive account operations (import, export, tourism, and others), stated Mrs. Lia Tase, director of the Foreign Affairs Department at the National Bank of Romania.

In the ensuing period in view is the completion of internal convertibility by unifying the official currency rate with the inter-banking exchange rate. To achieve a single rate, the National Bank of Romania should necessarily have a certain hard-currency reserve that could be ensured by speeded-up financing from the Group of 24. This action was scheduled to start already this spring in conformity with the accord with the International Monetary Fund.

Mrs. Lia Tase also said that making the leu convertible in the international market should go hand in hand with achieving economic stability and recovery apt to satisfactorily cover the national currency by products.

National Bank Governor Views Currency Situation

AU0209173591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1136 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/9/1991—The real value of the national currency, the leu, is closer to the official rate of exchange rather than to the market rate, and varies between 100 and 110 lei to the U.S. dollar, says the governor of the National Bank of Romania, Mugur Isarescu, in an interview with the weekly "ROMANUL".

The dual exchange rate in force in Romania is only a temporary measure, he says. Romania, which set to itself the task of achieving a measure of convertibility of its currency must cope with very difficult problems: to unify the exchange rates and to adjust foreign currency holding to the balance-of-payments state.

On free initiative and its promotion, Mr. Isarescu said, the Bank of Romania will ask the government to consider giving credits on preferential terms to small entrepreneurs who start a business and to enterprises that stand a good chance for recovery however, low-profit projects of national interest like those for the conservation of the environment will also qualify for credit, the governor of the Bank of Romania added.

International

Minister Says Serbia Accepts EC Declaration

AU3108201891 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Interview with Vladislav Jovanovic, Serbian minister of foreign affairs, by Snezana Rodic on 31 August; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Rodic] It is with special anticipation that Europe is expecting Serbia's answer to the declaration on Yugoslavia of the Twelve. Mr. Minister, can you tell us what Serbia's stand is?

[Jovanovic] If we abstract the first part of that document, and particularly the accusation against the Serbian people in Croatia, which is completely untrue and absolutely unacceptable to us and which relieves the Croatian armed forces who are carrying out systematic terror against the Serbian population in Croatia of all guilt and responsibility, then we can say that the basic element in this document, which is in fact a product of French planning and effort, is acceptable for Serbia. We think that it proceeds from good intentions, that it is reasonable and balanced, that it does not favor any of the sides, and that it strives toward justice and truth.

[Rodic] That means Serbia will accept an international conference on Yugoslavia, that is, on solving the Yugoslav crisis. Does that also mean it will accept an EC observers' mission?

[Jovanovic] Let me first recall that the basis of this entire plan and document is an arbitrage commission, which should first be made up of individuals with great expertise and moral integrity and then—in a comprehensive, principled, and absolutely unbiased way—start collecting arguments and assessing them with a view to finding the complete truth and building its own finding, that is a (?decision) on that basis.

It goes without saying that the proposal about observers is a part of the document, because, let us recall, the document assumes that the agreement on a cease-fire will be reached and that it will be effective and that the observers' task will be to ensure compliance with such an agreement.

Let us remind ourselves that Serbia has never had any reservations in principle about ideas about foreign observers, because it has always, and recently in particular, been an open and a transparent country with a democracy... [Jovanovic corrects himself] with a democratic society that is developing fully, and that is ready to show all foreign visitors, official ones and other private well-meaning people everything they are interested in.

As concerns the EC observers mission and possibly some other countries that show interest in this, Serbian has no reservations in principle, apart from the fact that we still think that such observers missions should be civilian. Our view is based upon our long freedom-loving traditions and our strong views on the political independence and sovereignty of the country. This is not in disharmony with other countries' views, and it has also been shown in the talks President Milosevic had with President Mitterrand and Minister Dumas, who have shown full understanding for such views of Serbia.

[Rodic] Thank you very much.

EC's Van den Broek, Republic Leaders on Cease-Fire

LD0209124191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1026 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 2 (TANJUG)—President of the European Community (E.C.) Ministerial Council, Foreign Minister of the Netherlands Hans van den Broek, said in Belgrade late last night after the signing of an agreement on a ceasefire in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia that the most essential objective at hand was to establish a genuine truce in Croatia.

'The European Community will send observers to Croatia as soon as the truce becomes effective,' Van den Broek said, emphasizing that the E.C. had assumed its share of the responsibility and now expected the other actors in the Yugoslav crisis to do the same.

The Yugoslav State Presidency late last night accepted the E.C. declaration on Yugoslavia, a ceasefire agreement and a memorandum Of understanding on expanding the activities of the E.C. monitor mission.

Yugoslav Presidency President Stjepan Mesic said that what he called the 'Serbian bloc' had initially been against the adoption of the agreement, but that 'they changed their minds after a conversation with Van den Broek. A mechanism by which peace can be achieved has most certainly been set in motion,' Mesic said.

Recalling that the Federal Government had been the first to accept the E.C. declaration, Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic said he was certain that with the support of the E.C. Yugoslavia would succeed in overcoming its crisis and returning to a course of reforms and democratization.

President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic said the documents did not contain the qualifying features included in the E.C. declaration, which onesidedly and without foundation accused the Serbian people in Croatia of being behind the conflicts there, and which Serbia had categorically rejected.

Milosevic said it was 'very significant' that in the documents signed the 'Serbs in Croatia have been given the status of an equal side in the control of the ceasefire,' and that they had for the first time been recognized on an international plane.

Repeating this statement in a brief conversation with Van den Broek during an exchange of toasts on the signing of the agreements, Milosevic stressed that 'the victims of war and violence—the Serbs—must be protected,' to which Van den Broek replied: 'It is essential to protect all the victims of violence.'

Milosevic told journalists it was significant that the E.C. mission which would take part in controlling the cease-fire would have an exclusively civilian character. He recalled that Serbia had categorically rejected any foreign military presence on Yugoslav soil.

'You can be sure that Yugoslavia will continue to exist,' Milosevic said.

Member of the State Presidency from the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia Janez Drnovsek described the signing of the agreement and acceptance of the declaration as an important and beneficial step towards the peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis. He underscored Slovenia's interest in reaching agreement and ending the bloodshed in Yugoslavia.

Assessing the agreements signed as historic, Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Relations Budimir Loncar said a genuine step towards peace had been taken.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said the fact that the representatives of Serbia had accepted the declaration on documents on a ceasefire was an achievement in itself and a victory for Croatia's correct policies.

The decisive aspect was the determination and firmness of Van den Broek that 'there could be no deviations' from the offered texts of the documents, President of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Alija Izetbegovic said.

Representative of Serbia in the Yugoslav State Presidency Borisav Jovic said it was of 'great importance that the Serbian people in Croatia has been afforded an equal treatment in the document, that of one of the parties in the conflict.'

Jovic also described as very important the provision about the disbanding Of all paramilitary organizations in Croatia, after which Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) units would return to their garrisons and barracks.

President of the Yugoslavb Republic of Slovenia Milan Kucan stressed that 'peace is the first condition for anything else to be achieved with regard to the fate of Yugoslavia.'

'Whether the agreement will be observed remains to be seen,' Kucan said.

Milosevic Endorses EC Documents Signed in Belgrade

AU0209142691 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Statement by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic on the EC Memorandum signed in Belgrade on 1 September; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] After the signing of the cease-fire agreement and the memorandum on expanding the EC observers' mission, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said the following:

[Begin Milosevic recording] There are several things that are very important for us. As you know, after all, we categorically rejected the qualifications in the declaration that one-sidedly and without foundation accuse the Serbian people in Croatia of the clashes that took place there.

However, as a result of further developments, the documents that have just been signed, as you can see, no longer include such qualifications. The documents only and exclusively refer to the efforts to find peace and to the cease-fire, and I think that they are very important for, above all, treating the Serbs in Croatia as an equal side in the control of the cease-fire. You saw that the memorandum states that the control will be carried out by the Yugoslav People's Army, the representatives of the Croatian authorities, and the representatives of the Serbian people in Croatia.

Therefore, they are for the first time recognized in the international sense. I said in the international sense, because their recognition in Yugoslavia, as far as Serbia is concerned, and I hope the majority of Yugoslavs, has never been disputable.

The second thing that is also very important, and you heard that in the declaration by Mr. Van den Broek, the mission that will be taking part in the control of the cease-fire on behalf of the EC is exclusively a civilian mission, it has the civilian character, as Van den Broek stressed in particular. This was also one of the major issues that was quarreled about. You remember well that we were categorical in our stand that we cannot accept a foreign military presence on this soil. This has finally been eliminated as a problem.

As far as the presence of observers is concerned, we have always stressed that all those with good intentions and who help the stabilization of peace in Yugoslavia are welcome, and that in this sense, we expect constructive cooperation with the mission that will take part in the realization of these documents and agreements that we signed today in Yugoslavia. [end recording]

Jovic Endorses EC Documents on Cease-Fire

AU0209144791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Statement by Borisav Jovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, on the EC Memorandum signed in Belgrade on 1 September; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] We accepted the agreement on the cease-fire and the memorandum on expanding the EC observation bearing in mind the interests of all our peoples and citizens in all parts of our country, especially the interests of the Republic of Serbia and the entire Serbian nation that the cease-fire be introduced and that conditions for a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis be created.

I consider particularly important the fact that the aforementioned documents treat the Serbian people in Croatia as an equal side, as one of the parties in the clash, and that they, together with the Yugoslav People's Army and the representatives of the Croatian authorities, take part in the control of cease-fire.

Also very important is the provision contained in these documents that envisages the dissolution of all paramilitary formations in the Republic of Croatia, after which the units of the Yugoslav People's Army will withdraw to their garrisons and barracks.

All these are the key questions which we have not been able to agree on up to now. The consistent realization of the agreement will be very important for our future.

Prime Minister Markovic Endorses EC Documents

AU0209152591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Statement by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, on the EC documents signed in Belgrade on 1 September; place and date not give—recorded]

[Text] Establishing peace, establishing the basic, minimum functions of both the legal and economic systems, and the beginning of talks on the future of the country are also opening up realistic chances for talks on an association, [words indistinct] new quality, in general, in communicating with Europe and the world, because the citizens will be in a different position.

At the same time, Europe will be providing guarantees for the safety of investments in our country, which should be the priority. Moreover, we have already discussed it in the past, and the agreement is that as soon as this process starts moving in the positive direction, a team from the EC led by President Delors will pay a visit and we will continue the talks about three important issues that we held at the end of May.

One refers to the provision of certain expert advice and, support, the second to (?support) of our program of liabilities via the Paris Club, and the third to fresh money that should provide support to our foreign exchange reserves so that we can reestablish the functioning of the foreign exchange system, at least like the one that existed about one year ago.

Memorandum on Expansion of EC Observer Mission

LD0209182691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0201 GMT 2 Sep 91

["Memorandum on Agreement To Expand Observer Mission in the SFRY"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 2 September (TANJUG)— Bearing in mind: The decision of the committee of high-ranking officials of the CSCE to welcome the readiness of the EC and its member states to organize a mission, on the basis of their initiative, to facilitate the stabilization of the cease-fire, as well as to state the powerful interest of the member countries of the CSCE in making a concrete contribution to the resolution of the present Yugoslav crisis;

—The invitation of the Yugoslav authorities to the EC and its member states to organize such a mission;

—The agreement reached in Brioni on 7 July 1991, and in keeping with:

—The memorandum of agreement on the observer mission in Yugoslavia signed in Belgrade on 13 July 1991 by representatives of the EC and its member states, the federal organs of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Slovenia, and which continues to be in force in accordance with its provisions,

—and the cease-fire agreement signed in Belgrade on 1 September 1991,

The EC and its member states, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and the UK and the commission, hereinafter termed the sending parties on the one hand, and the Federal Presidency of the SFRY, in its capacity as collective supreme commander of the armed forces, and the Federal Executive Council and the Republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia, Slovenia, and Serbia, hereinafter called the host sides, on the other hand, in the rest of the text together called the participating sides,

Declaring that all inhabitants are suffering from the devastation as a consequence of the hostilities in Yugoslavia,

Conscious of the serious impact which the hostilities in Yugoslavia could have for peace and security in Europe,

Resolved to find a peaceful way of resolving the situation currently disuniting the peoples of Yugoslavia,

Interested in promoting conditions that might discourage new outbursts of violence and bloodshed, and

Resolved to work together in order to make a contribution to the maintenance of peace and security and smooth the way for negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia,

have reached the following agreement:

Article I (mandate)

The activity of the multinational observer mission established on the basis of the memorandum of agreement dated 13 July 1991 shall be extended to include monitoring of the cease-fire as agreed in Belgrade on 1 September 1991, when it comes into force.

The aim of this extension of its activity shall be to facilitate the stabilization of this cease-fire, and the observer mission will to this end carry out ad hoc assessments of, and investigations into, alleged violations of the following elements of the cease-fire which must be effectively recorded, as agreed between the signatories of the Belgrade cease-fire agreement of 1 September 1991:

—The suspension of the use of force;

—All armed formations and all persons bearing arms shall immediately and unconditionally refrain from opening fire and refrain from all activities that could provoke armed clashes;

—All the conflicting sides shall immediately cease all further movements, except for those the purpose of which is to withdraw to avoid a direct contact, and shall withdraw from present or previous positions where hostilities took place;

—Hostile forces that are in immediate contact shall disengage and withdraw to positions beyond the range of at least hand-held weapons;

—Mortars and other weapons shall be withdrawn so that they are out of range of the forces previously involved in clashes;

—All paramilitary forces (except for police forces) and irregular units shall be disarmed and disbanded;

—Reservists in the Croatian National Guard shall be demobilized, while the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [YPA] shall return to barracks so that neither might prejudice the carrying out of the above-mentioned observer activities.

2. [Numbering as received] To ensure comprehensive and effective control of the cease-fire, the sides also agreed that monitoring activities be carried out by both the YPA and the Croatian authorities, and representatives of the Serbian population in Croatia included in the hostilities. At the discretion of the head of the observer mission, members of the observer mission can take part in the above-mentioned observer activities of the Yugoslav sides involved.

3. The role of the observer mission shall be to monitor and report on the implementation of the elements of the cease-fire as set out in Article I, but the mission will not take part in the application of these elements itself.

4. To this end, the host sides shall ensure all information for and offer full cooperation which is essential for the realization of the mission's goals to the sending sides. To this end the host sides will put in place liaison officers.

Article II (Duration)

1. The observer mission shall begin its activities as described in Article I as soon as possible after all the participating sides sign this memorandum of agreement, when the cease-fire begins to come into operation.

2. The observer mission shall end its activities on 13 October 1991, three months after the signing of the memorandum of agreement of 13 July 1991. The participating sides can decide to extend the mandate of the observer mission.

Article III. (Coordination)

1. The activity of the observer mission shall be coordinated from the coordination centre that has been established in Zagreb. The observer mission can establish a regional monitoring center, (or centers), as necessary.

Article IV. (Status)

1. The host sides shall be responsible for the full protection, security, and safety of the observer mission and its members. The host sides oblige themselves to guarantee the safety of observer mission personnel, and in particular are to issue precise orders that no single unit or individual shoot at, or in the vicinity of, the mission. Other concrete provisions that are envisaged shall be submitted for advice purposes to the head of the mission.

2. To realize its activities, the observer mission and its personnel, as well as its vehicles, ships, aircraft and equipment shall have unlimited freedom of movement in the mission's area.

3. The observer mission shall act only in areas in which the monitoring activities of the YPA, the Croatian authorities and representatives of the Serbian population have verified the effectiveness of the cease-fire and informed the observer mission, and after the head of the observer mission has obtained from all the host sides guarantees that he considers satisfactory concerning the security of observer mission personnel.

4. In carrying out their activities, observer mission personnel will at their own request be accompanied by people in attendance and translators (unless a person attending is able to work as a translator), who are specified by at least one of the host sides, bearing in

mind its area of activity. The person in attendance/ translator will help members of the observer mission to carry out their task.

5. The observer mission shall have a flag of the EC at its coordination center, and at its regional monitoring center (or centers) and on other premises, vehicles, ships and otherwise, in accordance with the decision of the head of the observer mission.

6. Clear markings of the observer mission, concerning which the competent organs will be informed, shall be on the vehicles, ships and aircraft of the observer mission.

Article V (Composition)

1. According to this memorandum of agreement, the observer mission shall be composed of personnel appointed by the sending sides and Canada, Poland, Sweden, and the CSFR, hereinafter together called the observer sides. Other states that are participants in the CSCE can also appoint personnel to the observer mission once this has been approved by the participating sides, after which they will be called the observer sides.

2. Personnel belonging to the observer mission shall hereinafter be called observers.

3. Observers shall be appointed by the governments of the observer sides.

4. For the requirements of this memorandum of agreement, the number of observers mentioned in the memorandum of agreement of 13 July 1991 shall be increased from 50 to approximately 200. The number of members needed can be changed as agreed among the participating sides.

5. The observers shall refrain from all actions or activities which are not commensurate with the impartial character of their duties.

6. The observer mission may use the assistance of administrative and technical staff of the observer sides as required by it. Members of the adminstrative and technical team of the mission will enjoy similar status to administrative and technical staff of the observer sides employed in embassies.

7. The observer mission can employ assistants on the spot as it may require. At the request of the head of the observer mission the host sides shall, where appropriate, provide assistance to the observer mission in the employment of local qualified staff and accelerate the process of this employment. Assistants of the mission will have status similar to that enjoyed by locally employed staff of embassies.

Article VI (Arms and Clothing)

1. Observers shall not bear arms.

2. Observers shall wear civilian clothes.

Article VII (Chain of Responsibility)

1. The observer mission shall work to the head of the observer mission who shall be a citizen of a member state of the EC.... of the Presidency of the EC Council, which hereinafter is called the Presidency of the EC Council. [as received]

2. The head of the observer mission shall submit regular reports, via the Presidency of the EC Council, to all host sides and observer sides on the activities and findings of the observer mission.

3. The Presidency of the EC Council shall inform the committee of high-ranking officials of the CSCE about the activities of the observer mission at the earliest possible time.

Article VIII (Travel and Transport)

1. Vehicles, ships and aircraft of the observer mission shall not be obliged to be registered or have permits in the area of the work of the mission, provided that these vehicles have third party insurance.

2. The observer mission can use roads, bridges, canals and other waterways, harbor facilities and airports without having to pay duty, tolls and taxes, including mooring fees.

3. At the request of the observer mission the host sides shall secure for the observer mission those vehicles that may be necessary for carrying out of its tasks in the event of the observer mission being unable to use its own vehicles. The host sides shall provide assistance to the observer mission so that it may use its own vehicles, ships, and aircraft.

Article IX

1. Personnel of the observer mission shall have access to appropriate telecommunications equipment of the host sides to carry out the mission's tasks, including means of communication with diplomatic and consular representatives of the observer sides.

2. Personnel of the observer mission shall have the right to unrestricted communication via their own radios (including use of satellites, portable and hand-held radios), telephones, signals equipment, fax, and other means. The host sides shall, within a 24-hour period from the signing of the memorandum of agreement, secure frequencies on which radios can operate.

Article X (Privileges and Immunity)

1. During their mission observers shall be permitted to have the privileges and immunity of diplomatic officials in keeping with the Vienna convention on diplomatic relations.

2. The coordination center, and the regional monitoring center (or centers) and other facilities and vehicles, ships and aircraft of the observer mission, shall be inviolable.

3. The privileges and immunity envisaged in this article shall be ensured for the observers:

a) During the mission, and

b) After this, in relation to activities carried out during their mission.

4. The host sides are obliged to provide assistance to the head of the mission and members of the team of the mission as regards entry into and departure from the mission's area. The Presidency of the EC Council shall secure for the host sides a list of members of the mission and inform the host sides of the arrival and departure of personnel belonging to the observer mission. Personnel belonging to the observer mission shall have their own national personal documents (passports), as well as documents proving that they are a member of the observer mission.

5. The host sides recognize the right of the observer sides to import all equipment, material, supplies and other goods for the exclusive and official use of the observer mission without the payment of duties or other restrictions, as well as to re-export or in some other way free themselves of this equipment—provided that it is still usable—and all unused supplies, material, and other goods imported in this way.

Article XI

1. The host sides are agreed that they make available food and accommodation for the personnel, as well as office space, to the observer mission, free of charge. The participating sides shall adopt a decision on other provisions regarding privileges and immunity, as well as practical arrangements, travel and expenses for mission members.

2. The host sides shall fully compensate the observer sides for any damage, loss or injury suffered by any observer in connection with the mission, and pay compensation to the observer sides for all debts that arise or are connected in any way with the activities of the observer mission or its personnel.

FEC Considers Cease-Fire Documents

LD0209185591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] At today's session, presided over by Ante Markovic, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] considered the goals and mechanisms contained in the EC declaration on Yugoslavia, and in particular the cease-fire agreement and the memorandum on the extension of the EC observer mission in our country, reports the FEC Secretariat for Information.

It was established that the acceptance of these two documents by all relevant political factors in the country is an important factor for the establishment of peace and the start of negotiations on the future organization of Yugoslavia. The FEC requests that the provisions of the agreements relating to the ending of hostilities be respected immediately. Responsibility before Europe for every further human casualty will be borne by the leaders of formations which violate the cease-fire. Competent departments are duty-bound to put together a program of activities so that the federal government can implement its share of the obligations contained in the agreement and memorandum.

Members of the federal government were also informed of today's clashes in Petrinja. Condemning this deed, the FEC concluded that an urgent investigation be carried into all the important facts so that it can be established who violated the cease-fire.

The FEC also considered the problem of refugees. A decision was also adopted to earmark a further 300 million dinars for these needs. The FEC recommended to the republics, municipalities and citizens that they too give material support [to solve] the refugee problem. Consideration was also given to the scope for the refugees to return home, and the finding of funds for the reconstruction of destroyed homes.

Macedonia Supports EC Declaration

LD0209195291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1502 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Skopje, 2 Sept (TANJUG)—At today's session, the government of Macedonia expressed support for the declaration on Yugoslavia which was determined at the extraordinary meeting of the EC Council of Ministers in Brussels. As stated by the Ministry of Information, the government particularly supported the part of the declaration which rejects the policy of accomplished fact. In this context, it was assessed that the declaration is in full agreement with the basic standpoints of Macedonian policy on the solution of the crisis in Yugoslavia. The government of this republic considers that this represents a defeat for the policy of force in Yugoslavia, as well as of all advocates of this policy in the Republic of Macedonia.

At the same time, the statement by the Ministry of Information says, the identity of standpoints in the declaration with the policy of Macedonia supports the choice of this republic to become sovereign and independent with the right to join a union of sovereign states of Yugoslavia. The citizens of this republic will express themselves on this in the forthcoming referendum on 8 September.

Slovenia's Kucan on Meaning of EC Agreements

LD0209212291 Zagreb Radio Croatian Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Following a session of the Slovene Presidency, President of the Presidency Milan Kucan stated for Slovene TV this evening that the EC agreements are bringing Slovenia closer to Europe rather than pushing it further away, and that they do not mean re-establishing

Slovenia's close links with Yugoslavia. Kucan expressed doubts that it will be possible to control from Belgrade the situation and the events in crisis-ridden areas. According to Kucan, it would have been better had all representatives of the Serbian people signed the documents, and not only those involved in the conflict.

'Integral Text' of EC Cease-Fire Agreement

LD0209105491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0923 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 2 (TANJUG)—The following is the integral text of the agreement on ceasefire in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, adopted by the Yugoslav Presidency on Sunday evening:

1. The ceasefire will be efficiently implemented in the Republic of Croatia. The signatories have agreed that the ceasefire include the following elements:

—the cessation of the use of force

—all armed formations and all persons under arms will unconditionally and without delay refrain from opening fire and from all activities which may provoke armed clashes

—all parties involved in the conflict will immediately stop all movements, except those of withdrawal, in order to avoid direct contact, and will withdraw from their present or earlier positions, which have been the scene of hostilities

—the confronted sides in direct contact will separate and withdraw to positions out of the range of at least small arms

—mortars and other arms will be withdrawn from within the range of the parties previously engaged in conflict

—all paramilitary forces (except the police) and irregular units will be disarmed and disbanded

—the reserve force of the Croatian National Guard will be demobilized and the Yugoslav People's Army will return to barracks so that neither side can prejudice the carrying out of observer activities described in the paragraph 2.

— The signatories have agreed to secure that efficient implementation of the above elements of the ceasefire be immediately put into effect.

2. In order to secure comprehensive and efficient control of the ceasefire, the signatories have agreed that the monitoring be carried out by the Yugoslav Army and the Croatian authorities as well as representatives of the Serb population in Croatia, who are involved in the conflict.

3. The signatories have also agreed that, besides Yugoslav institutions, the observer mission of the European Community and its member-countries should extend its current activities so as to participate in the mentioned activities of monitoring the implementation of the agreement, in keeping with the provisions of the memorandum enclosed with this agreement, as submitted by the European Community and its member-countries.

The signatories of this agreement hereby pledge to guarantee the safety of the members of the observer mission, especially by issuing precise orders forbidding all units and individuals to open fire at the mission or in the vicinity of the mission.

4. Every violation of the ceasefire will be reported to the observer mission.

Tudjman Views 1 September Cease-Fire Agreement

LD0209130391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1103 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Sept 2 (TANJUG)—'We in Croatia can be especially pleased because the sides which have forced a war on us have been bound to observe the peace and the European Community's control of that peace, and therefore also to a political settlement,' President of the Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman said at today's regular news conference in Zagreb in a comment on the ceasefire agreement signed in Belgrade late last night.

Noting that the more difficult part of the job still lay ahead—maintaining the ceasefire—Tudjman expressed optimism in regard to a final settlement of the crisis.

Tudjman News Conference on Cease-Fire

LD0209212891

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0910 GMT on 2 September carries a 40-minute relay of a news conference given by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb. Reception is poor.

Tudjman begins by saying:

"Ladies and gentlemen. You have probably been informed about yesterday's meeting of the Yugoslav Presidency. After a protracted discussion the [word indistinct] declaration of the EC was accepted. Things dragged on until at about 0100. During the night we placed our signatures on the agreement on a cease-fire and on a memorandum on the extension of the EC observer mission in Croatia.

"We in Croatia can be particularly satisfied with these facts because the other side, which imposed the war on us has (?been led to sue for) peace, after [word indistinct] of the EC, [word indistinct] of this peace and therefore to a political resolution. If we (?recall) the form of the declaration says that the EC cannot accept any change in the borders, and no kind of (?enforced) solution of the problems in the framework of Yugoslavia.

"If we recall that [words indistinct] the side who imposed this situation on us and spread about the thesis that this war was not imposed on Croatia from outside but that this is a war waged against Croatia's Serbian population. Then again there is the fact that after everything, even the Serbian part of the Presidency was forced into accepting this declaration, even the presidents of Serbia and Montenegro. In addition the other presidents of republics, of the Federal Council, and the president of the Yugoslav Presidency were forced to place their signatures on it. This testifies to the fact that in a way they were forced—against their own will—by facts and by the realization by the EC of what this was all about.

"They did not want to sign the declaration on the cease-fire and truce as they alleged that this matter had already been settled, and that there was no need for such [word indistinct]. The declaration was however eventually signed. They wanted to include some changes in both the agreement and the memorandum. Mr. Van den Broek of the EC was, however, very determined and persistent. You take it or leave it. They had been talking for days on end, they had been preparing it for months and they said: If you do not sign it we will reveal to Europe what this is about, who is to blame for the violence, the armed clashes, and for obstructing the agreement.

"[Words indistinct] last night at 0030 hours it was said that there can be no changes [words indistinct]. Please think it over and in half an hour's time either accept it or not. And so in the end both the Yugoslav Presidency member Jovic and the others accepted en masse the declaration and the documents, but they explained that this had been imposed on them. However, they had no option. Then probably, after [word indistinct] by the president of Serbia and [words indistinct] also signed. The cease-fire agreement was signed by Yugoslav participants—the president of the Presidency, the prime minister, and the presidents of the republics—and the memorandum was signed first by the president of the European Council, and then by [words indistinct].

"I believe this is yet one more success, a victory, and a confirmation of peaceloving, decisive, and principled Croatian policy. I believe what happened yesterday in Belgrade brings peace closer.

"The more difficult part of the work remains—how to ensure the cease-fire and truce, beginning with these outlaw Chetnik-terrorist bands and the Yugoslav Army, but also the Croatian defense forces, who are also bound to respect the signed agreement on a cease-fire. And—this goes without saying—the cease-fire itself will represent a more difficult part of the work, and the control of the cease-fire in accordance with the agreement and the memorandum. You know [words indistinct] and representatives of the Yugoslav Army, representatives of the Croatian authorities, representatives of [word indistinct] the Serbian population in Croatia which has been drawn into the hostilities."

An Italian correspondent asks Tudjman whether there is a possibility that the cease-fire remains a dead letter. Tudjman says:

"Well, I hope that it will work; it will not be easy, but it will work, with difficulties though. Here we have it: those who wanted to refuse the cease-fire—to oppose it even—were compelled to accept it. Therefore I hope that they will be compelled to implement it. But as I said, it will not be easy."

In reply to a question from a VJESNIK correspondent regarding the Croatian authorities' attitude to representatives of the Serbian people in the cease-fire mission, Tudjman says:

"We have consistently maintained talks with those representatives of the Serbian people in Croatia who wished to have talks. We will continue to do so now. Of course, the signing of this agreement by Serbian President Milosevic probably represents an obligation for those who obeyed him and who organized insurrection along these lines or took part in it. On our side, we will obviously be open to all those who wish to live in Croatia, who wish to cooperate, who consider Croatia their homeland, and who wish to contribute to peace and finding a peaceful solution. But naturally the Serbs themselves would not like to have as their representatives those who were deceived, and those who participated in terrorist and criminal activities."

A Croatian television correspondent asks whether the Croatian leadership has a reserve plan in case the cease-fire fails. Tudjman replies:

"Certainly nobody from the Croatian leadership is naive enough to believe that signatures on the documents will solve everything. So, as with everything so far, in addition to urging a peaceful solution and taking steps to organize our defense forces, we will likewise take all the necessary steps to achieve our goal—that is a sovereign independent Croatia—and from the position of an established constitutional and legal system we will talk with all those whom we should talk with, both in Yugoslavia and in Europe."

A LA STAMPA correspondent asks about reaching a real cease-fire in light of the fact that Milosevic's policy is to create a new state for all Serbs. Tudjman replies:

"It means that the Serbian side eventually had to endorse the European declaration, and now [they have had to endorse] the documents that will put it into practice, meaning that borders cannot be changed. This is one part of my reply to your question. The other is: The agreement on a cease-fire envisages the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army into barracks, where they were before, and from where they initially came. This means that if they came from Vojvodina to Baranja, they have to withdraw to Vojvodina. That per se represents the possibility to establish the constitutional and legal order in a way that it existed in Croatia before and that will exist in the future. The agreement also envisages the

disarmament and disbanding of all paramilitary and irregular armed groups. That obviously does not refer to the Croatian National Guard Corps, because the document expressly says that reserve forces of the National Guard Corps should be deactivated. That means that they are recognized by the EC documents. It also means that it does not refer to our regular police forces. Therefore, we will deactivate the reserve force of the Croatian National Guard Corps in the form and at the pace of the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army into barracks."

In reply to an indistinct question from an unidentified correspondent, Tudjman says:

"I do not know what Mr. Milosevic said, but the EC is resolute and is in agreement with us in this respect. There can be no changes to Croatia's borders, nor can we agree that even an inch of Croatian soil is the subject of some annexation. Hence, for the establishment of the legal order of the Republic of Croatia on its entire territory, it is enough if decisions of these European documents are implemented, if the Army withdraws to barracks, and illegally armed terroristic groups are disarmed. I said that this will not be easy, but this is creating conditions for achieving it. It will be easy to do this in some parts, for instance where Chetnik battalions are not infiltrated and where the Serbian people were not deceived, and in others it will be more difficult, but in any case we will liberate every inch of Croatian soil and establish the legal order of the Republic of Croatia."

In reply to a question about whether a mechanism for terrorists to hand back weapons has been devised, Tudjman says:

"No, a mechanism was not discussed on this occasion. We talked about the Yugoslav Army and Serbia signing the documents; this means that President Mesic in his capacity as—let me read you this—the president of the SFRY Presidency, who is the collective Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, signed the documents on behalf of the Yugoslav Army, although representative Wijaendts and EC representatives had talks with the military leadership.

"So it is important that these armed formations are no longer backed by the Yugoslav Army, that is they ought not to be backed. This will be under the supervision of not just these supervisory commissions, in which Croatian authorities will take part, but also international observers. It is also important that Serbian President Milosevic signed this document demanding a cease-fire and disarming of irregular formations. Hence these Martics [reference to the Krajina forces]—I do not know what they are called—will not be able to say that the Army and Serbia are on their side. This is creating an entirely new political situation regarding the war that has been imposed upon us and regarding prospects for resolving all issues by political means."

An unidentified correspondent says that the chain of command in the Yugoslav Army is clear. The chain of command in the republic is clear. What is the chain of command down to the ground level? Tudjman says:

"You have probably heard that Milosevic is their commander. [Words indistinct]. Since he signed the document I suppose that they will listen to him. Let us see".

Tudjman is then asked who will control the cease-fire now and how it has occurred that Serbs in Croatia will take part in the conference. Tudjman says:

"I said that it is clear that the implementation of a cease-fire and truce is a complicated issue and that those not wanting peace will continue; it is also clear that we will not just watch those things happening. This is quite understandable. But we will... [changes thought] This is clear and I ask you to witness where the cease-fire and truce are being violated and who is violating them. Since the EC through its documents—from previous declarations to this one—has clearly said who is the cause and who is the aggressor, I believe that any further senseless terroristic assaults, not just in Croatian villages but also towns—like in the case of Gospic—could not change the image they have in the world.

"Second, we have agreed that representatives of the Serbian people will take part in a conference. Hence, it would be beneficial if they are influential people so that peace and the cease-fire can be efficiently implemented. Although there are significant and major obstacles, I still believe this problem will be resolved, because there is a great dissatisfaction with those terroristic actions among the Serbian people—in Knin and elsewhere—and a large number of people in places torn by the war want it to end. I am aware that this will be very difficult but in the final analysis, when there are no prospects... [changes thought] You know, I heard in Belgrade that in many places bottles of champaigne were opened when the news about the coup in the Soviet Union broke out, but I did not find out whether Russian or French champaigne was consumed. The coup failure and the EC documents, U.S. documents, and the existing documents, are not just a warning but, as we have seen, also a source of pressure on those intoxicated with their arms and ambitions about the creation of a Greater Serbia at the expense of Croatia, to cool down and to sober up, irrespective of the amount of champaigne they drank."

Martinovic from Radio Sarajevo asks Tudjman: "Mr. President, do you think that Croatia will be completely liberated by 8 September? One more specific question: Is Martic's police considered a paramilitary organization, and will it be disarmed, and how ? Let me ask you one more question: To what degree and extent is Croatia prepared to give autonomy to the Serbian people? Thank you very much."

Tudjman replies: "[passage indistinct] I do not want to talk about something I am not entirely sure of. But it is certain that this will be in the near future. It is clear that the Martic police—I do not know who Captain Dragan and the infiltrated Chetniks are who created this force although they are shaven Chetniks who came from

Serbia and who joined these terroristic groups—it is clear that this refers to them and not to the Guard, because the National Guard Corps and the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs are legal forces in line with the Croatian Constitution and law, hence these documents treat them in that way.

"The most difficult problem is how they will be disarmed. It is likely that this problem will be resolved when their bosses who sent them call them back. Some will seek [words indistinct]. Deceived and forced people can seek solution in the sense that we have a broad political vision, that we know that many were under duress to take part in those [word indistinct].

"We have said on numerous occasions that we recognize civil, human, and national rights; we have said that we recognize cultural autonomy and the right to local self-rule. So we recognize what can be recognized under international conventions and we are ready—I repeat—to [accept] the international supervision of what is stated in the Constitution and the Croatian Assembly Charter on the rights of Serbs and other nationalities. I have said this and I keep repeating it: no one believes this anymore [words indistinct] the attempt to justify that aggression against Croatia with deceits and lies about the alleged [word indistinct] of the Croatian authorities, including its Ustasha and fascist character.

"These assessments were given in precisely those documents that serve as the basis for developing everything that was discussed."

A German Television correspondents says to Tudjman that there is no specific deadline for the Army withdrawal to barracks. With regard to the demobilization of the reserve force of the Croatian National Guard, the correspondent asks, how many reservists are to be demobilized, who will oversee the disarming of Serbian paramilitary forces, and where will the collected arms will be stored?

Tudjman says: "These are technical questions that were not discussed on this occasion. A deadline was not specified, although it was said immediately and without delay. Let me say that the number of reservists of the National Guard Corps is a military secret. So this is not that interesting.

"The mechanism for control, both in the agreement and the memorandum, envisages [the participation of] representatives of the Croatian authorities, the Yugoslav Army, the presidents of [word indistinct], and EC observers."

In reply to an indistinct question, Tudjman says:

"Again something that should be interpreted within the framework of these stands, the Serbian policy, and these agreements. As you know, the top Serbian representatives have stated that they were not involved in any way in this war in Croatia, and that means that it was denied by the very ringleaders of the war in Croatia; also, their reports on Belgrade television and in the Belgrade press deny the official statements of the Serbian representatives. The fact that they signed these documents and that they accepted the Brussels declaration means that they admitted to being the aggressors on Croatia, and by this mere fact they accepted that in the spirit of general democratic principles and the stands of the European Community, there cannot be any redrawing of Croatian borders. Therefore, the problem of Krajina as presented by the outlaws in the service of the imperialistic and expansionist policy of Serbia is getting its proper attention."

Milena Tanjga from the newspaper NOVA MAKEDONIJA asks: "I would like to ask whether you agree to talk with Milan Babic about these issues that have been agreed upon, in the light of the fact..."

Tudjman interrupts Tanjga and says: "First of all, Madam, it will not be me who will talk; representatives will talk, and as I said, I replied to that question before."

In reply to an indistinct question in English, Tudjman says:

"We will be endeavoring on our side to prevent events spreading, even when provoked. Likewise, however, as I said, we are not going to remain passive if the terrorists or any other factors—including Army units, as has happened several times before—keep threatening the peace, order, and life in Croatia."

Federal Government Urges Cease-Fire Respect

LD0209215691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2059 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 2 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Government this evening called for the immediate respect of the provision of the agreement on a ceasefire in Croatia and said that leaders of formations which violate the truce would bear responsibility before Europe for all further human casualties.

In a statement issued from its session tonight, the federal government said it would take all measures from its competences in order to ensure the consistent implementation of the agreement on a ceasefire and the memorandum on foreign observers in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic's cabinet condemned today's armed clashes in Petrinja, central Croatia, and demanded an immediate inquiry to determine who violated the ceasefire.

Croatian armed forces opened fire from mortars today on the Yugoslav Army barracks in Petrinja in which there were around 40 reporters at the time. The Army responded by powerful cannon and machine gun fire.

The Yugoslav Government decided to set aside another 300 million dinars (24.5 million German marks) as aid for refugees from Croatia.

Kostic Criticizes Van den Broek's 'Behavior'

LD0309084791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0807 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Titograd, 3 September (TANJUG)—If the observer mission behaves like Mr. Van den Broek, and if it is not prepared for dialogue and a detailed examination of the problems and a search for compromise solutions acceptable to both sides, then everything will fall apart rapidly and its futility will be revealed. The behavior of Van den Broek has once again confirmed that he, not only as foreign minister of the Netherlands but also as president of the EC, is acting in an extremely undiplomatic way. This was said by Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, in today's POBJEDA of Titograd, explaining why he had reservations about the cease-fire that was signed by the representatives of our country and the EC.

Kostic says Van den Broek rejected any possibility "of anything being changed in the document, which he brought along to be signed." According to Kostic, Van den Broek did not accept a series of objections to the proposed text of the agreement.

"I abstained, wishing at least in this way, and also by later not attending the ceremonial part of the signing of these acts, to direct attention, as far as possible, to the problems that both the EC and ourselves will come up against as early as tomorrow, when we put into effect what has been agreed upon," Dr. Branko Kostic said.

Cease-Fire Violated in Vukovar Region

AU0209170391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Milena Markovic report from Vukovar]

[Excepts] The truce signed last night is not being observed in Vukovar. Weapons continue to overpower every sensible proposal and wish to establish some kind of peace so that people are no longer killed and the town damaged further.

This morning explosions were heard in the direction of Borovo Naselje and Negoslavci, where a motorized armored unit of the Yugoslav People's Army came under attack. The [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Guard also fired mortars at an army unit near Bogdanovci and tried to surround it. In both cases the army repelled the attacks.

The Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army units stationed in Vukovar welcomes the truce that has been agreed on. At the same time it stresses that it will not tolerate attacks wherever they come from, and that the army will respond to protect its units. [passage omitted]

The representatives of the Serbian people in Vukovar say that they do not believe in the truce because, as they say, the previous cease-fires did not yield any results either. They think that the latest agreement is a skillful game by the Croatian authorities supported by the federal leadership and Stjepan Mesic, president of the SFRY Presidency, so that Croatia can win some time and arm its forces which, it claims, are lacking arms. [passage omitted]

'Technical Reasons' Behind Airport Closure

LD0109201591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] All airports in Croatia and Slovenia have been opened, except the airport in Zagreb, which is still closed for technical reasons and not because of any ban by the Federal organs. Technical inspection of the airport is necessary before it can be opened to traffic again.

Slovenia

Army Reportedly Violating Cease-Fire Agreement

AU0209161091 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Marjan Jerman report]

[Excerpts] It seems that peace in Croatia will not be reestablished soon, because of the provocations and shooting. More and more shooting from automatic and heavy arms can be heard from Bosnia, especially from Bosanska Dubica and Bosanska Kostajnica. [passage omitted]

Here, in Okucani, where the Chetniks' headquarters are located according to the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs, one can see numerous armed civilians, members of the so-called Krajina troops, and the members of the Yugoslav Army on the streets. [passage omitted]

I have learned that the Yugoslav Army transported a large number of Serbian reservists and Martic Militia members from Bosnia to Croatia last night, across the Una River near Bosanska Kostajnica. This indicates that the army does not intend to return to the barracks, as agreed in Belgrade last night, which also means that they have no intention of observing the cease-fire.

Delegation Holds Talks With Russian Officials

AU0209204991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Representatives of the Russian Federation's Ministry of Foreign Affairs held talks in Moscow with a Slovene delegation led by the Slovene Foreign Minister, Dimitrij Rupel. Although an official statement on the content of the talks has not been issued yet, the Slovene delegation, as TANJUG reports in citing some observers in Moscow, is seeking Russia's support.

During the talks, the Russian position was repeated. Last May Russia signed an agreement with Slovenia on respecting its sovereignty, but the Russian side stressed that it will not make decisions that contradict the positions of the Yugoslav leadership, TANJUG reports. The Russian position is that problems should be resolved within the existing borders of Yugoslavia.

The Slovene delegation has left for the Baltic republics to hold talks with the representatives of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia about establishing diplomatic relations.

Croatia

Vis Naval Command Issues Threats

LD0209165291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] At a news conference today the crisis headquarters for middle and northern Dalmatia said that the command of the naval district has moved from Split to Kumbor in Boka Kotorska Fiord, that Commander of the Naval District Admiral Mile Kandic is aboard the Vis command ship and that only General Mladinic remained in the building of the command in Split.

On the island of Vis, in whose vicinity many ships of the navy are stationed, command of the so-called outpost Vis has started working headed by Milan Radovic, chief-of-staff Stanko Blagojevic and members (Milan Stjepkovic), (Radomir Bancevic) and Milan Stanojevic. The command, as stressed, has decided that if only one member of the Croatian National Guard Corps appears on Vis, the building of the police station in Vis will immediately be destroyed and if they learn that only a single guardist is traveling aboard any ferry coming toward Vis, that ferry will be destroyed. It has also been reported from Vis that all officers of Croatian, Muslim, and Macedonian nationality have submitted petitions to be relieved of their army duty.

Fierce Fighting Described in Petrinja

LD0209195991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Branko Kanjizaj and [name indistinct] report on the current events in Banija:

Together with other reporters of the Croatian Radio and Television, we managed to get out of Petrinja a few minutes ago. I would not like to describe what we experienced when we set off toward the town center, wishing to obtain complete information. We can only say that the army of occupation is not choosing targets and means to achieve its intentions.

Namely, explosions are taking place in the town, machine gun fire is being opened from all directions, but we managed to escape somehow. [passage omitted]

There is a lot of damage in Petrinja: A secondary school has been damaged, as has the court building; grenades landed around the building of the Municipal Assembly, around the church of St. Lawrence; the central supermarket and the Gavrilovic food factory silo were shelled. In brief, very fierce attacks are under way on the center of the town.

Concerning casualties, so far we have learned with certainty that one person sustained injuries, but according to some reports the person died on his way to Zagreb. However, judging by the fierceness of the attacks, it is sure that many more persons sustained injuries and, unfortunately, there must be many more killed.

It is assumed that at the moment the army of occupation is using all means at its disposal: machineguns, tanks, cannon.

At around 1900 in Sisak the all-clear was given but it was soon followed by sirens wailing again, signalling general danger because several grenades landed around the oil refinery and ironworks. We do not yet have any details on damage. [passage omitted]

Minister Accuses Federal Army of 'Genocide'

LD0209210991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Some news just in: the defense minister of the Republic of Croatia, Luka Bebic, this evening sent a letter to the Fifth Military District command saying:

The activity of your units in the past 24 hours and the opening of fire on civilians in Petrinja municipality, as well as taking down a Croatian state flag, is contrary to the decisions of the Yugoslav Presidency and is tantamount to genocide against a civilian population which financed purchase of your arms and is expecting your protection from terrorists. Tanks and armored vehicles in Petrinja, as well as shooting at and destruction of everything in the way of the tanks, amounts to an act of utter vandalism. Hence we demand that you immediately halt such genocidal activities, a statement of the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Croatia says.

Cease-Fire Violated Throughout Slavonia

AU0309082691 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 2045 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Mirko Stankovic report from Vukovar]

[Text] This evening the Yugoslav People's Army and the Serbian villages in the Vukovar area were again shot at and provoked. Members of the Serbian and Croatian nationality clashed in the village of Berak. First, automatic weapons were fired, but later, mortars and even grenade launchers joined in.

The village of Berak fired on the village of Negoslavci, which did not fail to reply, and it responded in kind.

Members of the Borovo Naselje Territorial Defense were again provoked by arms. In this way, the positions covered by the units of the Yugoslav People's Army were also violated. The Army units were quiet at first, but as the attack began to escalate, the Army was forced to return fire and did so heavily indeed.

Mutual skirmishes that turned into bigger clashes were also reported to have taken place near the (?Silos), where grenades were launched on the neighboring village of Brsadin. As always, the inhabitants of Brsadin were up to their task and responded properly.

The neighboring village of Bogdanovci was the target of mortar operators too. The (?Mivnica) and the Trpinja road did not escape the heavy mortar fire either. There are very few houses in this region that have not suffered major or minor damage.

All in all, after a brief lull, arms are again on the scene in the region of Vukovar. There have been many victims. New patients are arriving at the hospital. Members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs and the so-called National Guard have turned their backs on the declarations of peace and the cease-fire control at the very beginning.

Proceeding from the fact that up to now they have been the ones who have been first to violate the truce, this could have been expected from them after the signing of the declaration.

Karlovac Police Report Military Clashes Intensify

LD0309092291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0830 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Davor Matijasic report from Karlovac]

[Text] Military clashes in the area controlled by the Karlovac Police Administration have been renewed and intensified over the past 24 hours, journalists were told at today's regular news conference of the police administration. The areas of fighting are Barilovic, Saborsko, (?Vagan), and Topusko. Since 1 September, Serbian terrorists have been constantly attacking the former municipal center and surrounding Croatian villages in the municipality of Duga Resa. Projectiles, shells, and inflammable bullets [as heard] are being fired at bunkers and fortified positions (?on) the right bank of the River Korana from the direction of (?Kozinac, Zazibari, Koncavavic, and Kosjacko Selo). A school was hit in Barilovic.

Damage is great, and several haystacks and business premises have burned down. Police forces from Duga Resa are returning fire, though at present there are no casualties. Traffic on the Barilovic-Perjasica road has been suspended. Again last night, between 2200 and midnight, Serbian terrorists fired more than 30 grenades at Saborsko from the direction of Licka Jasenica, in the municipality of Ogulin. Last night, from the direction of Titova Korenica, there was a mortar attack on Vazanac in the municipality of Slunj. According to Ivan Stajbruh, chief of the Karlovac police administration, at the front in Topusko Miroslav (?Zgeler) was killed and Ivica Mejaski and Tomo Puskaric were wounded—all of them from the Duga Resa municipality's National Guard Corps.

Osijek 'Quiet'; Sporadic Shooting Reported

LD0309094891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0841 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Summary] Osijek, 3 September (TANJUG)—At 0830 GMT, things are quiet in Osijek apart from sporadic shooting. TANJUG has learned that at about 0400 GMT an attack on military training area "C," south of Osijek, was carried out. The Osijek Garrison duty officer said no soldiers were killed, but several were slightly wounded. He said the Army fiercely returned fire, and it is presumed there are casualties among the attackers. Croatian Radio news about an army mortar attack on Osijek was also refuted by the garrison headquarters.

Girl Killed by Tank Grenade in Osijek

LD0309112891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Ivana Grujic, a 13-year-old girl, is one of the casualties of today's attack by Chetnik terrorists and the occupying army on Osijek. According to information from the Osijek police station, the little girl was killed in a fifth floor apartment that was hit by a tank grenade fired from the (?Anton Vukovic) barracks. This is proof of yet another war crime by the occupying army against the civilian population, which, with its heavy weapons, joined in the Chetnik-terrorist attacks from Baranja sometime after 0500. [passage omitted]

Aircraft Bomb Bilje, Sarvas

LD0309114891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1130 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Around 1315 army aircraft started bombing Bilje, a village on the left bank of the Rivers Drava and Sarva. Inhabitants of Osijek and neighboring villages are warned to act in accordance with instructions and go to basements and shelters. This air raid was preceded by an attack by Chetnik terrorists and the Yugoslav Army on Osijek, in which two people were killed and 10 wounded.

Shots Reportedly Fired at Tudjman's Plane

LD0309104591

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0905 GMT on 3 September broadcasts a 70-minute report on the news conference given in Zagreb today by Croatian Information Minister Milan Brezak. After providing information on attacks throughout Croatia yesterday, the minister goes on to say:

"According to information available at present, five civilians and two members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Guard Corps were killed in these terrorist attacks, while 18 members of the Croatian Defense Force and 10 civilians were injured. The as yet not fully verified information on the mass killing of the inhabitants of Berak village, near Vukovar, should be added to these figures. It is presumed that about 40 people were killed, while nothing is known, as yet, of the fate of about another 50 people."

Milan Brezak then provides details of an incident on 31 August, in which 13 civilian trucks carrying weapons from the direction of Ljubljana were stopped by members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs near Zagreb. The trucks' contents were confiscated because the weapons were being transported illegally.

Brezak concludes his news conference report by saying: "And in conclusion, I wish to inform you of one more incident: [word indistinct] on 1 September at 1940 [1740 GMT], Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, was traveling from Zagreb airport to Belgrade—you know the situation at the airport, I do not have to explain it now—just as the aircraft was beginning, as they say, to roll, that is, it was taxiing to the runway, sniper fire from light weapons was opened in the direction of the plane. On this occasion, Dejan Cakarevic, a policeman of the Republic of Croatia's Ministry of Internal Affairs who was involved with the security of the aircraft, was injured. The injured policeman was taken to the Rebro hospital with serious injuries—three gunshot wounds—and at present, according to the latest information, he is feeling well."

Croat Official Accuses Army of Violating Truce

AU0309111991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] Vladimir Seks, commander of the Crisis Staff for the Defense of East Slavonia and Baranja, accused the Yugoslav People's Army of violating the truce. Seks said at a news conference in Osijek that the civilian population in this town has again been subjected to crimes, and that the Croatian defense units observe the truce. The head of the Crisis Staff did not present any precise data on possible casualties and destruction in Osijek.

The Command of the Osijek garrison has categorically denied the claim that Yugoslav People's Army had opened mortar fire on this town. Shooting in Osijek stopped shortly after 1100 [0900 GMT], but the citizens are still advised to remain in their shelters.

Croatian Radio reported that three dead and nine wounded were brought to the city hospital.

Gospic Attacked With Cluster Bombs

LD0309134291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] News just in: An attack by aircraft using cluster bombs has just begun in Gospic.

Serbia

Opposition Leader Spells Out Conditions for Peace

AU0309121491 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 2045 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Statement by Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian National Renewal; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] I am satisfied that a cease-fire agreement has finally been signed, but everything should be done now to ensure that this peace is preserved and that a peace conference on Yugoslavia is held as soon as possible. I hope that the EC will accept the proposal by the Serbian Renewal Movement and that representatives of Russia and the United States, above all, will take part in the work of that conference.

Peace suits everyone in Yugoslavia and Europe, and particularly the Serbian people. The truth is that all historic facts are on our side, and we do not have a single reason to be afraid of negotiations, roundtable talks, or a peace conference.

I would particularly like to stress that it is high time, if it had not already expired, to stop our heavy defeats in the present-day Croatia with peace and a peace conference. I am not talking about military defeats, because the military victories are ours. I am talking about the defeats that will have an effect on the future, about biological defeats.

As far as I know, about 200,000 people so far have fled from Croatia to Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro. If such victories, so to speak, in the senseless war without strategy and aim continue, in a few months' time Croatia will be without Serbs. Of course, Croatia could be destroyed, Croatia could be militarily defeated, but would be ethnically pure. This is the main Franco-Ustasha aim, to create a Croatia without Serbs. We, in a way, are now conducting a war that is ultimately in Croatia's interests.

We must understand that, and I repeat, in such a senseless war without strategy and aim we do not stand a chance. Our troops may enter Zagreb, but this would be in vain. They would enter a country without Serbs. I do not believe that any of these refugees will return. A small number will return to Croatia. Did any refugees return to Kosovo? Nobody returned. Our territories and regions in Croatia have lost their people.

Therefore, our chances lie in a peace conference, at the negotiating table. I do not believe in the stupid statement that Serbs only know how to win militarily and that they are losers in peacetime. If this were true, then we would have to

get down and fight until the last Serb so as not to lose peace. I oppose this thesis with another one: All great and the most significant Serb victories in the last centuries were in fact won in peacetime at a conference table.

Let us recall our great and wise Milos Obrenovic, who did not waste blood but did more at the diplomatic table than was won in various battles. Thus, we must now rely on the facts and truth. The truth is on our side. We should stop this senseless war. I think the formula is known. The Serbian Renewal Movement will acquaint the appropriate European factors with it. Internal borders must be altered between Serbia and Croatia, in one part, and almost everywhere between the present Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia. The formula is simple, and both Croats and Serbs would be satisfied, while Bosnia-Hercegovina would still exist.

The regions in present-day Bosnia-Hercegovina in which Croats constitute the majority should be joined with Croatia, and the Serbian regions in Croatia, and partly in Bosnia, and in Baranja, and parts of East Slavonia and Western Srem should be joined with Serbia. If we get down to it in an appropriate way, in the way we know, and the facts are on our side, we will accomplish this at an international conference.